

ARS ISLAMICA

PUBLISHED SEMI-ANNUALLY BY THE RESEARCH SEMINARY
IN ISLAMIC ART · DIVISION OF FINE ARTS · UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN AND THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

MCMXXXIV

VOLUME I

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

ANN ARBOR

Freer Gallery of Art

PRINTED IN U.S.A. BY THE ANN ARBOR PRESS

Editor:

MEHMET AGA-OGU

Consultative Committee:

LAURENCE BINYON, ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, MAURICE S. DIMAND,
ALBERT GABRIEL, ERNST KÜHNEL, RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL, ALEXANDER
G. RUTHVEN, FRIEDRICH SARRE, JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI, WILLIAM R.
VALENTINER, GASTON WIET, JOHN G. WINTER

EDITORIAL OFFICE: RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART, DIVISION OF FINE ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	3
JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI	Die Islamische Kunst als Problem 7
FRIEDRICH SARRE	Die Bronzekanne des Kalifen Marwān II im Arabischen Museum in Kairo 10
MAURICE S. DIMAND	A Silver Inlaid Bronze Canteen with Christian Subjects in the Eumorfopoulos Collection 41.11 17
EUSTACHE DE LOREY	L'Hellénisme et l'Orient dans les Mosaïques de la Mosquée des Omayyades 22
HERMANN GOETZ	The Genesis of Indo-Muslim Civilization—Some Archaeological Notes 46
D. TALBOT RICE	The Oxford Excavations at Hira 51
PROSPER RICARD	Sur un Type de Reliure des Temps Almohades 74
ARMÉNAG SAKISIAN	La Reliure dans la Perse Occidentale, sous les Mongols, au XIV ^e et au début de XV ^e Siècle 80
CARL JOHAN LAMM	Five Egyptian Tapestry-Weavings in Swedish Museums 92
HEINRICH SCHMIDT	Damaste der Mamlükenzeit 99
ARTHUR UPHAM POPE	Some Recently Discovered Seldjûk Stucco 110
GASTON WIET	Un Bol en Faïence du XII ^e Siècle . 27.2 118
KURT ERDMANN	Ein Wiedergefundener Teppich 121
NICOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH	A Djāmī's Manuscript in the Lafayette College Library 128
BERTHOLD LAUFER	Chinese Muḥammedan Bronzes. With a Study of the Arabic Inscriptions by Martin Sprengling 133
ERNST KÜHNEL	Die 'Abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen 149
ERNST DIEZ	Sino-Mongolian Temple Painting and its Influence on Persian Illumination 160
A. K. COOMARASWAMY	Khawājā Khadīr and the Fountain of Life, in the Tradition of Persian and Mughal Art 173
MEHMET AGA-ÖGLÜ	Preliminary Notes on some Persian Illustrated MSS. in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi—Part I 183
HANS STÖCKLEIN	Die Waffenschätze im Topkapu Sarayı zu Istanbul—Ein Vorläufiger Bericht 200
WILLIAM H. WORRELL	On Certain Arabic Terms for "Rug" 219
BURTON Y. BERRY	Turkish Door Furnishings 223
PETER RUTHVEN	Two Metal Works of the Mamlūk Period 230
ERNST DIEZ	The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem 235
BIBLIOGRAPHIA 1933/34	239

ARS ISLAMICA

PRINTED IN U. S. A. BY THE ANN ARBOR PRESS

ARS ISLAMICA

PUBLISHED SEMI-ANNUALLY BY THE RESEARCH SEMINARY
IN ISLAMIC ART · DIVISION OF FINE ARTS · UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN AND THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

MCMXXXIV

VOL. I

ANN ARBOR

PART 1

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	3
JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI	7
FRIEDRICH SARRE	10
MAURICE S. DIMAND	17
EUSTACHE DE LOREY	22
HERMANN GOETZ	46
D. TALBOT RICE	51
PROSPER RICARD	74
ARMÉNAG SAKISIAN	80
CARL JOHAN LAMM	92
HEINRICH SCHMIDT	99
ARTHUR UPHAM POPE	110
GASTON WIET	118
KURT ERDMANN	121
NICOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH	128

Editor

MEHMET AGA-OGU

Consultative Committee

LAURENCE BINYON	ALEXANDER G. RUTHVEN
ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY	FRIEDRICH SARRE
MAURICE S. DIMAND	JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI
ALBERT GABRIEL	WILLIAM R. VALENTINER
ERNST KÜHNEL	GASTON WIET
RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL	JOHN G. WINTER

EDITORIAL OFFICE: RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART, DIVISION OF FINE ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, U.S.A.

EDITORIAL

WITH THE PRESENT ISSUE ARS ISLAMICA ENTERS THE INTERNATIONAL FAMILY of art periodicals and hopes to be given an encouraging reception. The principal aim which its publishers—THE RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART, DIVISION OF FINE ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN AND THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS—set before themselves is to promote an interest in the study of Islamic Art.

There is no need to emphasize the fact that the establishment of such a periodical will afford a means of securing systematic concentration in its proposed field and will provide scholars with an opportunity to publish their research in a journal especially devoted to their interests.

The publishers' chief desire is to create in ARS ISLAMICA an academic arena for the discussion of various problems concerning the historical and artistic development of the arts and crafts in Islamic countries. The magazine, it may be noted, will take a neutral position and will not represent or support any one point of view. Its pages will be open to comments on problematic questions interpreted from contrasted points of view, since the publishers are of the opinion that only by following this policy can the magazine be of service in advancing its cause. ARS ISLAMICA, however, will not hold itself responsible for possible controversies, although every effort will be made to avoid the personal note in such polemics.

In order to unify the transliteration of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and related names and words in all articles written in English, German and French, ARS ISLAMICA has decided to use the so-called Geneva system of transliteration which was approved and recommended by the International Oriental Congress of 1894 and employed with some minor changes by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* and the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. This system is the simplest one and it is available to those who are not versed in Islamic studies.

ARS ISLAMICA is greatly honored in having a consultative committee composed of eminent scholars. Although they kindly accepted the invitation of the publishers to assist with counsel and advice they are not responsible for the editorial policy of the magazine.

ARS ISLAMICA appears at a time of universal economic disorder, which affects severely our material and spiritual existence, but it hopes in spite of all difficulties to be of some service to contemporary culture by enlarging knowledge in the field of Islamic Art. Its success in this responsible work depends wholly on the cooperation of scholars and on the support of learned institutions and the art-loving public.

IN MEMORIAM

ON THE THIRTEENTH OF APRIL, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND Thirty Three, Dr. Fredrik Robert Martin passed away in Cairo. A man of noble character and an outstanding scholar, he was one of the pioneers of research in Islamic art, whose literary output during a period of more than thirty-five years opened new horizons to our knowledge of the Near East.

His loss is an irreparable one to art historical study, but the numerous publications of epoch-making importance, bequeathed by him to posterity, are monuments which will immortalize his name forever.



FIG. 1—BRONZEKANNE DES KALIFEN MARWÂN II, VIII JAHRH.
KAIRO, ARABISCHES MUSEUM

DIE ISLAMISCHE KUNST ALS PROBLEM

VON JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

WIR SIND GEWOHNT, DIE TRENNUNG DER KUNSTKREISE NACH STAATEN FÜR DEN ALTEN Orient in unserer Zeitrechnung nach Religionen vorzunehmen und beginnen erst in Westeuropa mit andersartigen Bezeichnungen wie romanisch, gotisch, Renaissance u.s.w. Wäre es nicht Zeit, einmal in dieser historischen Willkür halt zu machen und überlegend zurück zu blicken, was die Kunstgeschichte da eigentlich tut? Haben Staaten, Kirchen oder von der Bildung ausgegebene Schlagworte irgend etwas mit Wesen und Entwicklung der Bildenden Kunst zu tun und sollten wir in Zukunft nicht gerade danach unsere Einteilung und Namensgebung in der Kunstgeschichte vornehmen?

Da taucht bei den Arabern der letzte der grossen Religionsstifter Muḥammed auf: sind es Bauern wie ursprünglich im Mazdaismus Irans, oder Städter wie im Buddhismus Indiens und dem Christentum des Mittelmeerkreises, die als Träger der neuen Religion auftreten? Nein, es sind die Nomaden der Wüste, die hier in greifbarer historischer Nähe sich um einen neuen Propheten sammeln und mit ihm eine Welt erobern. Es ist nicht das erste Mal, dass so etwas geschieht, nur verschwanden die älteren Vorläufer im Dunkel der Vorgeschichte. Wie ich 1917 in "*Altai-Iran*" zu zeigen suchte, waren es die Hochasiaten die längst eine Nomadenkunst besaßen. Inzwischen hat sich meine Ueberzeugung nur noch sehr verstärkt dadurch, dass ich auf das hohe Alter dieser hochasiatischen Zelt—und westasiatischen Rohziegelbaukunst aufmerksam wurde. Ob die Araber selbst über irgend eine eigene Volkskunst verfügten, ist noch nicht untersucht; dass es nicht die war, die wir in Küstenarabien oder, sagen wir, im Ḥawrān oder Hatra vorfinden, ist sicher. Es kann nur eine dem Steinbau ebenso wie der menschlichen Gestalt abgewandte Kunst gewesen sein, wie sie eben dem Nomaden zukommt. Diesen Strom der "Nomadenkunst" der Wüstendiagonale gilt es zu erfassen, wenn man der "*Ars Islamica*" gerecht werden will.

Als die Araber, bzw. ihr Islam ganz gegen den Nomadenbrauch in den städtischen Gebieten Syriens und Ägyptens, dann im gesamten Küstengebiet des Mittelmeeres anfangen, in der Art des Muḥammedhauses in Medina Versammlungsräume zu gemeinsamen Gebet zu errichten, da gingen sie genau so vor, wie schon vor ihnen das Christentum: sie nahmen ihr Baumaterial aus älteren Ruinen und zogen christliche Baumeister bzw. Arbeiter heran. Das wurde anders je mehr der Islam wie vorher schon das Christentum nach dem Innern Asiens vordrang, als die Nestorianer 781 ihre Erfolge auf chinesischem Boden verzeichneten (Stele von Singanfu) hiessen die Kirchen persische Tempel und waren nach Art von S. Vitale etwa in den Farben eines Vogelgefieders ausgestattet. Also waren nicht Basiliken, sondern wohl Feuertempel Vorbilder. Ähnlich trat im Islam auf iranisch-türkischem Boden zuerst die Medrese und dann bei den Osmanen die Kuppel in den Vordergrund, Bauformen, die ebenfalls dem Feuertempel näher stehen als dem ursprünglich zweckmässig eingeführten Versammlungsraum der Hofmoschee ohne Wölbung.

Nicht anders war es mit der Ausstattung dieser Bauten. Der Verwendung alten Säulenmaterials folgte der mesopotamische Ziegelpfeiler, wie ich zuerst von der Ibn Ṭūlūn in Kairo schloss (*“Amida”*) und dann die Ausgrabungen in Sāmarrā das nachträglich bestätigten. Damit zugleich hielt, wie schon im Hellenistisch-Byzantinischen die verkleidende Ausstattung, die ursprünglich in den Rohziegelbauten Westasiens üblich und durch die Türken und ihre Zeltkunst verstärkt worden war, ihren Einzug. Die Ṭūlūniden zuerst, dann Aiyūbiden und Seldjūken tragen verstärkt diese Kunst des Rohziegel- und Zeltgebietes nach dem Mittelmeere wie die Omayyaden und Fāṭimiden die altiranische Ausstattung nach Syrien und Nordafrika brachten. Die neuentdeckten Mosaiken der grossen Moschee in Damaskus sind dafür landschaftlich ebenso Zeugnis wie die sinnbildlichen Mosaikzierate der gleich der Ka'ba der Umwandlung dienenden Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra und die Paradiesesmosaiken im Normannenpalast zu Palermo.

Wenn wir also die Kunstgeschichte in Zukunft nicht historisch aufbauen, etwa wie üblich vom Mittelmeere ausgehend und die islamische Kunst von Spanien, Nordafrika und Syrien aus, wo wir sie zuerst kennen lernten, während die Ostgebiete überhaupt kaum bekannt waren, sondern nach Wesen und Entwicklung, dann müssen die Nomadengebiete vorangestellt und vom Zelt- und Rohziegelbau ausgegangen werden. Ich habe darauf schon in einem kritischen Aufsätze *“Vergleichende Kunstforschung auf geographischer Grundlage”* (*Mitt. d. Geogr. Ges. in Wien*, 61. 1918, S. 34 f.) aufmerksam gemacht.

Es handelt sich um den humanistischen Glauben von der Zeugungskraft des Mittelmeerkreises, der nicht nur im Wege der spätrömischen Provinzialkunst, sondern seit hellenistischer Zeit auch womöglich ganz Asien erst zu einer historisch beachtenswerten Höhe emporgehoben haben soll, gegen den ich seit 1901 *“Orient oder Rom,”* 1902 *“Hellas in des Orients Umarmung”* und später von *“Altai-Iran”* bis zum *“Asienwerke”* eindringlich genug (wie ich glaube) Stellung genommen habe. Wenn jetzt noch immer auf den für die Bildende Kunst unmöglichen Standpunkt, der Islam habe das Erbe der Antike angetreten, zurückgegriffen wird, so ist der Streit, den ich bei Erscheinen der Zeitschrift *“Der Islam”* seit 1910 auszufechten hatte, deshalb ohne Nutzen geblieben, weil die einschlägigen Arbeiten nicht gelesen werden. Ohne genaue Kenntnis des mazdaistischen und türkischen West- und Hochasiens kann man nicht über islamische Kunst schreiben.

Das gilt nicht nur für das Bauen und die Bauausstattung, sondern es gilt fast noch eindringlicher, wie ich in meinem Werke *“Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei”* 1933 zu zeigen suchte, auch für die Handschriftenausstattung. Das Pergament zusammen mit der sinnbildlich zierenden Miniaturenmalerei ohne menschliche Gestalt setzt sich, wahrscheinlich von der Avestaausstattung ausgehend, sowohl bei den Germanen wie bei Armeniern, Syrern und Kopten durch, noch die Koranhandschriften sind in ihrem Schmuck ohne die vorausgehende mazdaistische Art undenkbar. Es ist ganz ausgeschlossen, die Verwandtschaft der Vorsatzblätter in den ältesten erhaltenen Koranhandschriften mit angelsächsischen und irischen Zeitgenossen anders als durch ein gemeinsames Vorbild zu erklären und das sind eben die verlorenen Avestahandschriften, wenn nicht schon ältere von den nordischen Einwanderern

nach Asien mitgebrachte und zum mindesten in einer reichen Bildersprache des Wortes abgefasste "heilige Bücher" wie die Veden oder das chinesische Taoteking, die schon sinnbildliche Zieraten aufgewiesen haben mögen.

Wichtiger vielleicht als diese religiöse Gruppe aber sind die Spuren weltlicher Kunst in den islamischen Ländern wie sie in den Handschriften und jetzt bei den Ausgrabungen in Westasien immer deutlicher zu Tage kommen. Es hat in den islamischen Ländern eine Profankunst gegeben, die nichts mit dem Islam zu tun hat, sondern ganz unmittelbar die Ueberlieferung Transoxaniens und Nordostirans weiterführt. Man kann zum Beweise alle Gebiete der überaus hochentwickelten Kleinkunst Asiens heranziehen und wird überall den Eindruck einer uralten Ueberlieferung bekommen, die nicht zuletzt in indogermanische ebenso wie alttürkische Zeit zurückführt. Die Mongolen noch wissen dieses Erbe zu schätzen. Wenn erst einmal die literarischen Quellen ähnlich gesammelt vorliegen werden, wie die historischen Inschriften durch Max van Berchem, dann wird der Kunstforscher für alle diese Beobachtungen, die er mit dem Spaten in der Hand im Felde gemacht hat, reiche Bestätigung finden. Es war erfreulich auf dem Kongresse für persische Kunst in London 1931 mitzuerleben, wie deutlich sich diese Erkenntnis zur Anerkennung durchrang. Man muss eben nicht nur einseitig die persische Hofkunst, sondern vor allem die iranische Volkskunst im Auge behalten und mit dem Rohziegel und Zeltbau ebenso als Grundlage rechnen, wie mit indogermanischen Einschlügen von Norden aus. Hoffen wir, dass die versprochene Veröffentlichung der heute noch nachweisbaren Feuertempel endlich erscheint. Was der griechische Tempel für die Antike, die Basilika für die christliche Welt, das war der mazdaistische Feuertempel als Nachfolger des indogermanischen Umwandlungsraumes für den Osten. Dabei war massgebend nicht nur seine Grundgestalt und der Aufbau, sondern auch seine Ausstattung mit Mosaik und farbigen Glasfenstern sowohl wie der sinnbildliche Gehalt von der Herrlichkeit der Gotteserde im Diesseits (*Hvarenah*) und den Freuden des Paradieses im Jenseits, immer im Zusammenhange mit der Landschaft.

Die Zeitschrift "*Ars Islamica*" geht von Amerika aus: möge es ihr gelingen, sich von dem Wahne der europäischen Wissenschaft fernzuhalten, dass es nur eine Kultur gebe, die vom Mittelmeerkreise ausgehende. In der islamischen Kunst ist bis zum heutigen Tage lebendig eine andere, im Islam den Bedürfnissen der Wüsten—und Steppennomaden gerecht werdende Weltanschauung greifbar, die in mancher Beziehung das Erbe jener versunkenen Nordwelt angetreten hat, der indogermanischen, die jetzt allmählich dadurch aus der Versenkung, in die sie der Machtwille Roms verschwinden liess, aufsteigt, dass wir Hellas nicht mehr mit dem alten Orient und Rom zusammenlegen, sondern mit Iran, Indien und China. Dazu kommt der türkische Einschlag, der den Arabern als Nomaden in mancher Beziehung näher stand als das indoarische Erbe.

DIE BRONZEKANNE DES KALIFEN MARWÂN II IM ARABISCHEN MUSEUM IN KAIRO

VON FRIEDRICH SARRE

IN DEN JAHREN 1901-06 HABEN DIE BERLINER PAPYRUSKOMMISSION UND DIE DEUTSCHE Orient-Gesellschaft in Ägypten bei Abū Šīr al-Malaḡ im Faiyūm unter Leitung von Professor Rubensohn und Professor Möller auf einer von prähistorischer Zeit bis weit in die christliche Epoche hinein benutzten Begräbnisstätte Ausgrabungen unternommen, die wertvolle Funde von Papyri ergaben.¹ Bei der Ruine eines Grabbaus frühislamischer Zeit, der der Tradition nach das Mausoleum des hier auf der Flucht vor den 'Abbāsiden im Jahre 750 n.Chr. erschlagenen letzten Omayyaden-Kalifen Marwān II. ist, kamen vier stark oxydierte Bronzegefäße, 2 Kannen und 2 Kessel, zu Tage. Der Fund wurde zwischen den Museen von Kairo und Berlin geteilt, und die ungleich wertvollere von den beiden Kannen im Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo aufgestellt. Ich veröffentlichte das Stück als ostpersische frühislamische Arbeit sasanidischen Stils zuerst im Jahre 1922² und dann sieben Jahre später den gesamten Bronzefund, auch die nicht uninteressante Kanne strengerer Form aber ohne Dekoration in Berlin und die beiden schmucklosen Kessel, indem ich die hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit hervorhob, dass es sich hier um Geräte aus dem persönlichen Besitz des unglücklichen Fürsten handelte, die seine Getreuen nach seinem tragischen Tode in der Nähe des Grabes verscharrt hatten, um sie nicht in die Hände seiner Feinde gelangen zu lassen.³

Die Veröffentlichung hatte zur Folge, dass die Kairener Kanne aus dem Ägyptischen Museum entfernt und dem Arabischen Museum in Kairo überwiesen wurde. Hier ist sie dann einer gründlichen Reinigung unterzogen worden, die die prachtvollen, bisher zum grössten Teil unter der starken Oxydation verborgenen Gravierungen klar in die Erscheinung brachte. Das Stück erregte auf der International Exhibition of Persian Art in London⁴ besonderes Interesse, und seine erneute Veröffentlichung auf Grund der bisher unbekannten oder wenigstens ungenügend sichtbaren Dekoration schien eine dringende Notwendigkeit zu sein. In Rücksicht auf meine erste Bekanntgabe dieses hervorragenden Kunstwerkes übertrug mir M. Gaston Wiet, der Direktor des Musée Arabe, die Veröffentlichung und stellte mir ausgezeichnete Detailaufnahmen zur Verfügung, indem er mir die Wahl der Zeitschrift lebenswürdigerweise überliess. Es ist mir eine besondere Freude, der Aufforderung folgeleiten und das schöne Beispiel sasanidisch-frühislamischer Metallkunst in "*Ars Islamica*" eingehender als früher bekanntmachen zu können.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Bd. 41 (1904).—*Das vorgeschichtliche Gräberfeld von Abusir el Malaḡ*, 49. (Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.)

² F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922, Taf. 137.

³ O. Rubensohn und F. Sarre, "Ein Fund frühis-

lamischer Bronzegefäße in Ägypten, vermutlich aus dem Besitz des letzten Omayyaden, Marwan II.," *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1929, p. 85 ff.

⁴ *Catalogue*, third edition, No. 74A.—*Illustrated Souvenir* p. 12.—G. Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931*, Le Caire, 1933, p. 63, Pl. 1.



FIG. 2—BRONZEKANNE DES KALIFEN MARWÂN II, EINZELHEIT



FIG. 4—BRONZEKANNE DES KALIFEN MARWÂN II, HENKELANSATZ



FIG. 3—BRONZEKANNE DES KALIFEN MARWÂN II, AUSGUSS

Der allgemeine Aufbau des 41 cm. hohen und 28 cm. im Durchmesser betragenden Gefässes ist aus der Fig. 1 ersichtlich. Ein profilierter niedriger Ringfuss trägt den kugelförmigen Körper, von dem sich oben eine stufenförmige flache Schulter absetzt, der unten ein gleicher vorspringender Rand entspricht. Der hohe zylindrische Hals, in seinem unteren, grösseren Teile mit einem gravierten Muster von kleineren und grösseren Kreisrosetten bedeckt, geht oben in eine reichere, getriebene und teilweise durchbrochen gearbeitete Bekrönung über. Diese besteht aus einem perlenbesetzten, mit einem Rautenmuster versehenen Ring und einer durchbrochenen Wandung darüber, welche kandelaberartige Stege zwischen Palmettengebilden und fächer-oder pfauenfederartigen Abschlüssen enthält. Der von der Körpermitte parallel mit dem Hals emporsteigende Henkel rollt sich oben, der Volute eines Bischofsstabes vergleichbar, ein und hat als Bekrönung eine Blütenform aus Akanthusblättern, die eine an ein Altärchen erinnerndes Gebilde mit Zinnenmotiven trägt. Den Ausguss bildet eine schräg von der Schulter vorspringende gerade Röhre, die in eine Vogelfigur, einem krähenden Hahn, ausläuft; die Füße des Vogels ruhen auf einem kleinen Sockel darunter (Figs. 2, 3). Den von zwei Delphinen flankierten Henkelansatz auf dem Körper umgeben stark plastische Voluntenranken; sie steigen in kleineren Ausmassen an der Aussenseite des Henkels, von Perlenstäben, eingefasst, empor (Fig. 4). Diese stark plastischen Akanthus- oder Palmettengebilde erinnern an spätsasanidische "Lebensbaum"-Darstellungen, wie wir sie von dem Pfeiler- und Kapitellschmuck des Tāḡ-i-büstān⁵ kennen; oder besser von der Dekoration eines etwas jüngeren, schon islamischen Denkmals, des Steinmihrab der Moschee al-Khāsakī in Bagdad,⁶ oder auch von der prachtvollen Bergkristallkanne des fātimidischen Kalifen al-'Azīz Bi'llāh (975-996 n.Chr.) im Schatz von San Marco in Venedig.⁷ Eine ähnliche reiche Volutendekoration zeigen zwei, auch im übrigen der Kairener Kanne sehr verwandte Bronzekannen in der Eremitage in Leningrad, die dorthin aus den Sammlungen Graf Bobrinsky und Polowtsoff gelangt sind.⁸ Ein wesentliches Dekorationsmoment, die Vogelfigur des Ausgusses, ist bei diesen beiden verwandten, aber in künstlerischer Hinsicht wesentlich geringeren Stücken gleichfalls vorhanden. Der ausserordentlich lebendig modellierte krähende Hahn der Kairener Kanne darf in seiner charakteristischen Wiedergabe fast als selbständiges Kunstwerk gewertet werden und vermehrt die Reihe der wundervollen Tierfiguren sasanidischen Stils, die wir kennen, um ein besonders schönes Beispiel. Der Hahn spielt in der zoroastischen Religion als Verkünder des Lichts und der Sonne eine hervorragende Rolle; er ist nach griechischer Auffassung in Persien beheimatet und ist von dort nach dem Westen gekommen. Wir finden ihn auf achämenidischen und sasanidischen Münzen, auch auf sasanidischen Stoffmustern und Silbergeräten und endlich auch, von hier übernommen, im 9. Jahrhundert in der Dekoration der Keramik von Sāmarrā.⁹

⁵ *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*, Taf. 90, 92, 93.

⁶ E. Herzfeld, *Der Islam*, I, p. 33-36, II, p. 240.—
F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, *Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-*
gebiet, Berlin, 1911, III, Taf. 45, 46.

⁷ R. Schmidt, *Das Glas*, Berlin, 1912, Fig. 23.

⁸ F. Sarre und F. R. Martin, *Meisterwerke muham-*
medanischer Kunst, München, 1911, Taf. 131, 132.

⁹ F. Sarre, "Die Altorientalischen Feldzeichen," *Bei-*
träge zur Alten Geschichte, 1903, p. 349 ff.—O. von
Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1920,

Nun zu den Gravierungen auf dem Gefässkörper, die in ihrer ganzen Schönheit erst nach der Reinigung zum Vorschein gekommen sind, und die wir hier nach einer Zeichnung von Dr. H. Schmidt wiedergeben (*Fig. 5*). Sie zeigen eine sechsteilige Arkadenreihe, fortlaufend von je zwei Säulen getragen und von mondsichelförmigen Bogen¹⁰ bedeckt. Die Innenfelder sind oben mit grossen ornamentalen Kreisrosetten gefüllt, während unten verschiedene Tiere oder Tiergruppen, z.T. wappenmässig zwischen merkwürdig zackig und knorrig gestalteten Bäumen angebracht sind. Diese ganze Tier- und Pflanzendekoration, auch die Wellenranke mit ihren fünfblättrigen Blättern, die den unteren Abschluss bildet, sowie ähnlich gezeichnete Ranken, die in den Zwickeln darüber aus amphorenartigen Vasen emporsteigen, sind uns aus der Toreutik der ausgehenden sasanidischen und frühislamischen Zeit wohlbekannt. Sie begegnen uns besonders deutlich und in ganz ähnlichen Bildungen auf den Gravierungen des prachtvollen Räuchergefässes in Vogelform in der Islamischen Kunstabteilung in Berlin (*Fig. 6*), bei dem wir auf den Zusammenhang mit den Mustern sasanidischer und frühislamischer Stoffe hingewiesen haben.¹¹ Eine Gegenüberstellung der beiden Gravierungen, auf der Kairer Kanne und auf dem Berliner Räuchergefäss, zeigen diese Zusammenhänge ganz deutlich und überheben uns weiterer Erörterungen.

Eine Tauschierung der Gravierungen mit Edelmetall, wie ich früher vermutete, scheint nicht vorhanden gewesen zu sein; dagegen machen zellenartige Vertiefungen einzelner Dekorationsteile, z.B. der dreieckigen Bekrönungen der Arkadensäulen, der Perlrosetten auf den Arkadenbögen und des Rautenfrieses am Halse, es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass hier Einlagen aus Edelsteinen, Edelmetall, Glas oder Glasflüssen vorhanden waren, die die Kostbarkeit des Prunkgerätes betonen und erhöhen sollten. Auch dieses Moment bestärkt unsere Vermutung, dass wir es hier mit einem Gegenstand aus dem persönlichen Besitz eines Fürsten zu tun haben, Marwān's II, des letzten Omayyaden-Kalifen. Es ist unstreitig eine der künstlerisch bedeutendsten persischen Metallarbeiten sasanidisch-frühislamischen Stils, die wir kennen.

S. 121 ff.; *Fig. 98, 103.*—J. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale*, St. Petersburg, 1909, Taf. 56, 288.—F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin, 1925, *Fig. 121, 122*, Taf. 22.

¹⁰ Auf einem grossen sasanidisch-frühislamischen unglasierten Tongefäss von Susa finden wir die gleichen,

fast indisch wirkenden, mondsichelförmigen Bogen. Vgl. R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1928, No. 17.

¹¹ F. Sarre, "Bronzeplastik in Vogelform, ein sasanidisch-frühislamisches Räuchergefäss," *Jahrb. der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1930, p. 159 ff.



FIG. 5—ZEICHNUNG DER GRAVIERUNGEN DER BRONZEKANNE DES KALIFEN MARWÂN II

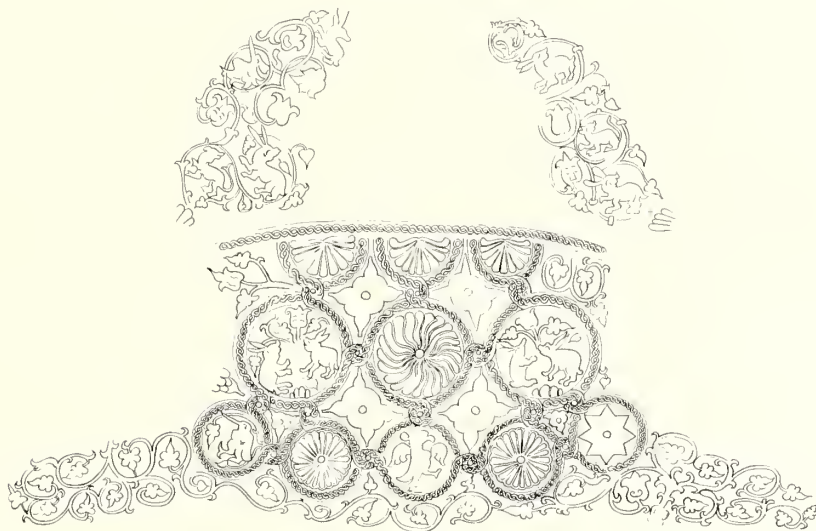


FIG. 6—ZEICHNUNG DER GRAVIERUNGEN EINES SASANIDISCH-FRÜHISLAMISCHEN
RÄUCHERGEFÄSSES, BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 1—SILVER INLAID BRONZE CANTEEN, SPHERICAL SIDE, XIII CENTURY
LONDON, EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION

41.10

A SILVER INLAID BRONZE CANTEEN WITH CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS IN THE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION

BY M. S. DIMAND

THE ART OF METALWORK, ESPECIALLY THE ART OF INLAYING BRONZE AND BRASS VESSELS with silver and gold, reached its height in the thirteenth century under the rule of the Seldjūk Atābegs of Syria and Mesopotamia, and of the Aiyūbids of Syria and Egypt. The silver inlaid metalwork of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries comprises a great variety of objects such as candlesticks, basins, ewers, boxes, incense burners, writing cases and mortars. An outstanding piece, which hitherto has escaped the attention of students of Islamic art, is a unique canteen of bronze with silver inlay in the Eumorfopoulos collection (*Figs. 1, 2*). In this short article I wish to call attention to this masterpiece of Near Eastern metalwork which furnishes an interesting link between the Christian and Muḥammadan art of the Near East.

The Eumorfopoulos canteen has a half-globular shape; one side is flat, which enabled its being carried on the back or strapped to a horse. The spherical part of the piece has a central concave medallion with the Madonna and Child seated on a throne with two saints at the side and angels above and below. The medallion is bordered by a narrow band of Arabic inscriptions on an arabesque background separated by three fret discs. The outer band has an elaborate decoration in compartments separated by three medallions containing an intricate arabesque design combined with all kinds of animals, sphinxes, griffins and birds. The figure subjects represented in the panels, between the medallions, are scenes from the life of Christ. In the first compartment (beneath the spout) are two scenes: the Nativity, with the three wise men and shepherds, and the Baptism. In the next compartment (from right to left) we see the Circumcision of Christ in a temple with three domes. The third compartment shows an elaborate composition representing the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem; Christ is seated on a donkey while the inhabitants of Jerusalem are spreading carpets or are seated in the trees rejoicing at the arrival of Christ. Each scene has an intricate background of engraved scrollwork bearing palmettes. The flat side of the canteen has a shallow hole which must have been placed over some block, so as to keep the vessel in place. Around the hole is a frieze of warriors on horseback, carrying pennons and lances. Two of the warriors are shooting with a crossbow which was a European weapon often used by the Crusaders in their wars against the Muḥammadans.¹ The horses wear rich housings which were a part of European horsetrappings during the middle ages. There is no doubt that the warriors of this frieze are European Christians, most probably Crusaders. The Muḥammadans are represented by a single figure wearing a turban and at whom a Crusader is aiming with a crossbow. The second, outer frieze of the canteen shows a row of saints in arcades

¹ At the second Lateran Council in 1139 the use of the crossbow was prohibited amongst Christians as a weapon, although its use was allowed against unbelievers.

This decision was confirmed by a decree of Innocent III (1198-1216).

on a rich background of arabesques. The shoulder of the canteen is decorated with three bands; the first one, to which the handles are attached, shows circular medallions formed by interlacings and containing musicians and drinking scenes interrupted at intervals by medallions with birds. The decoration of the middle band consists of an interesting composition of men hunting various beasts and fantastic birds intertwined with Arabic letters ending in human figures and animals. This frieze is divided into sections by three medallions containing personifications of the moon—a seated figure holding a moon crescent around his face—which appears frequently in a group of metalwork from Mosul. The third band contains, on a background of arabesques, an Arabic inscription which, like all the others, expresses good wishes (*Fig. 3*).

Several thirteenth century silver inlaid bronzes, decorated with Christian subjects, are known. The finest of them is the basin in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg in Brussels, inscribed with the name of the Aiyūbid sultan al-Malik Šāliḥ Aiyūb, who ruled from 1240 to 1249.² Another noteworthy piece with Christian subjects is a candlestick in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris,³ dated A.H. 646 (A.D. 1248) and signed by the maker, Dā'ūd ibn Salama of Mosul. These bronzes, including the one in the Eumorfopoulos collection, must have been made for Christians by Christian craftsmen who followed closely the style of Muḥammadan art. It is quite improbable that a Muḥammadan would have used an object on which, besides Christian scenes, warriors against the Muḥammadan faith are represented.

The Arabic inscriptions of the canteen do not give a date or a name of the artist. Comparing, however, the style of its decoration with that of the other Muḥammadan silver inlaid vessels of bronze and brass we find the closest relation to the Mosul school of the thirteenth century. From the point of view of style the vessel has many interesting points which throw new light on the interrelation of Christian and Muḥammadan art. The pictorial character of the scenes, especially that of Christ's entry to Jerusalem, recalls the thirteenth century miniatures of the 'Abbāsīd school familiar to us from the manuscripts of the *Maḳāmāts* of Ḥarīrī and the *Materia Medica* of 1222. The scenes on the bottle must have been copied from miniatures of the Gospels, which in turn influenced the pictorial art of the Muḥammadans of the thirteenth century. The rest of the decoration and technical proficiency of the canteen shows many analogies with some of the Mosul metalwork. The silver inlaid parts, rich in detail, are skillfully engraved. Such fine detail work appears only on the finest specimens of the Mosul school as for instance on the candlestick base in the Metropolitan Museum which I have assigned to the period of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' (1233-1259).⁴ The animal decoration of this candlestick is also related to that of the Eumorfopoulos piece. The combination of writing or arabesques with heads of human beings or of beasts is characteristic of the decoration on some of the twelfth and thirteenth century metalwork from

² F. Sarre, and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, 1910, vol. II, pl. 147; G. Migeon, *Exposition des arts musulmans*, pls. 11 and 12.

³ G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, vol. II, fig. 239.

⁴ M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, fig. 52.

149616

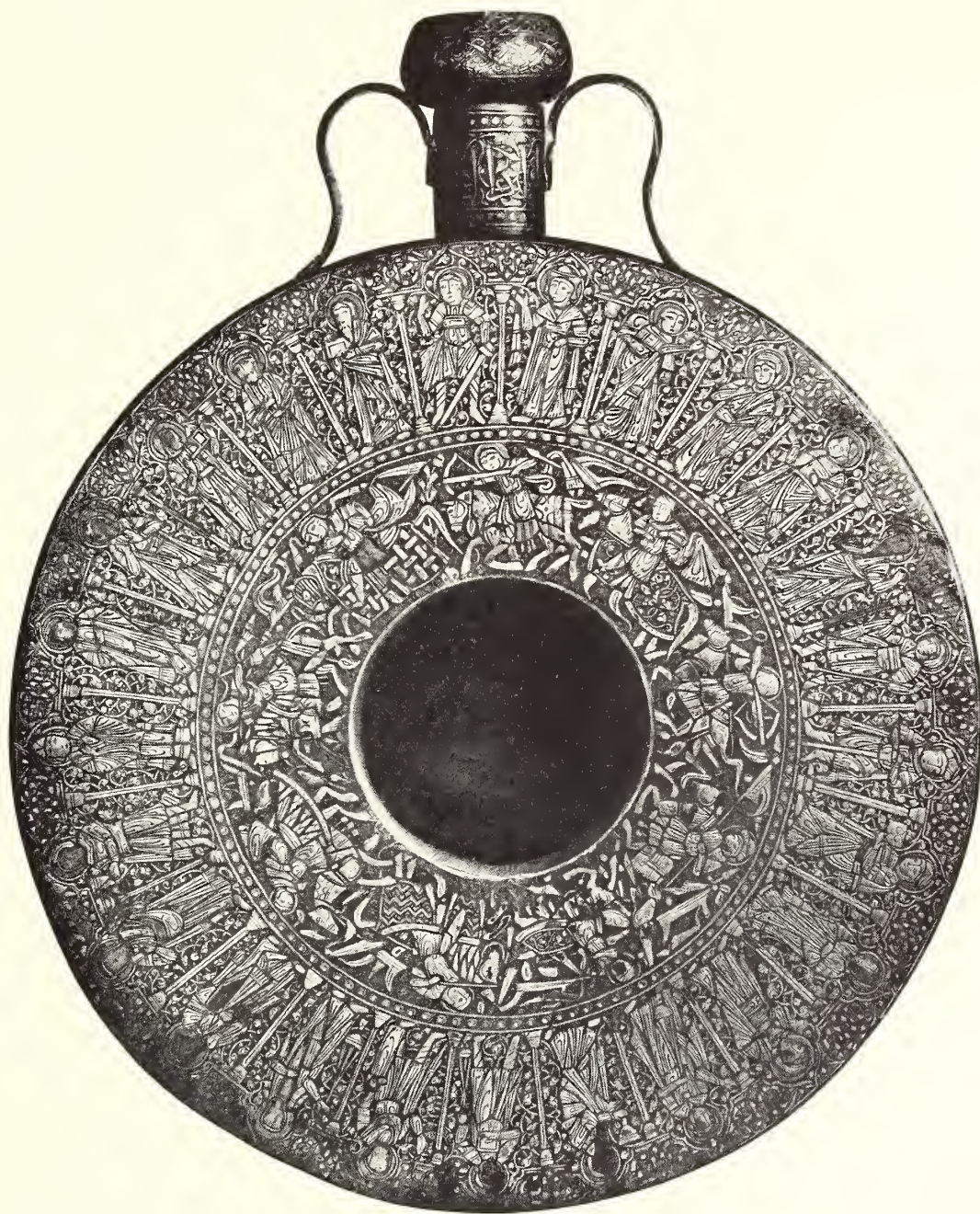


FIG. 2—SILVER INLAID BRONZE CANTEEN, FLAT SIDE, XIII CENTURY
LONDON, EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION

41.10



FIG. 3—SILVER INLAID BRONZE CANTEEN, DETAILS OF SHOULDER, XIII CENTURY
LONDON, EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION

41.10

Persia, Syria and Mesopotamia. Medallions with animal-arabesques appear on the basin of the Duke of Arenberg and other pieces of the thirteenth century. The variety of animals in the medallions of the Eumorfopoulos canteen surpasses those of any other piece except of the above mentioned candlestick, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. On both pieces the animals in which the scrolls end are represented not only by heads alone but also by whole bodies. One of the most elaborate combinations of writing with human beings, animals and birds, is seen in the central band on the shoulder of the canteen. Here the imagination of the artist expressed itself fully. The three medallions dividing this band are of particular interest as they, to a certain extent, indicate the origin of the artist. The figures holding the moon crescent personify the moon and may be found on certain Mesopotamian metals as for instance the candlestick in the Metropolitan Museum on which it is repeated sixteen times. The frequency with which it is shown might suggest that it was used as a badge of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', whose name is "full-moon of religion". This badge appears on his coins and on the Bāb-Sindjār gate at Mosul. Its appearance on the Eumorfopoulos canteen indicates the close connection between its maker and the Mosul school of metalwork, from which many decorative motives were derived by Mosul artists working in other provinces. The Christians of Mosul played an important part in the artistic life of this city. The many churches of Mosul, of which several still remain, were richly decorated in a style analogous to that of the Muḥammadans.⁵ These artists, both architects and sculptors, must have been Christians, as Herzfeld rightly suggested. The fame of Syrian and Mesopotamian Christians as great craftsmen continued in the thirteenth century and we may presume that some of the fine metalwork, especially that with Christian subjects, was the work of Christians. Where was the Eumorfopoulos canteen made? One might think at first of Mosul as the logical place of manufacture; against it however speaks the representation of Crusaders who were especially bitter enemies of the Zengids of Mosul. It is more probable that this piece was made by a Mosul Christian in some city in Syria, most probably in Damascus, whose rulers frequently were the allies of the kingdom of Jerusalem, at first against Mosul under the Atābegs, then against Egypt under the Aiyūbids. After the death of Saladin (1193) dissensions broke out among the members of his family, which led to frequent wars between Damascus and Cairo. The independent Aiyūbid sultans of Damascus⁶ were tolerant towards the Christians and it is therefore not surprising to find bronzes decorated with Christian subjects. The Eumorfopoulos canteen was probably made in the first half of the thirteenth century by a Christian artist who came from Mosul.

⁵ F. Sarre, and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, vol. II, pp. 289-303.

⁶ Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 78.

L'HELLÉNISME ET L'ORIENT DANS LES MOSAÏQUES DE LA MOSQUÉE DES OMAIYADES

PAR EUSTACHE DE LOREY

DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU VII^e SIÈCLE ET AU COMMENCEMENT DU VIII^e S'OUVRE POUR la civilisation byzantine une période critique: Byzance vaincue abandonne à l'Islam l'Égypte et la Syrie; l'héritage d'Alexandre, en ses dernières parties, tombe aux mains des nomades et des bédouins. Toute cette brillante civilisation, offerte à des plaisirs raffinés, qui, depuis près de dix siècles, faisait d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche les cités-reines de l'Orient, est recueillie par les Arabes du désert, les "mangeurs de lézards," étrangers à toute civilisation matérielle et presque à toute culture profane.

On sait que ces conquérants furent vite conquis à leur tour; établis dans un pays tempéré et presque méditerranéen, les Omayyades vécurent à Damas moins comme les héritiers du Prophète que comme les successeurs des Séleucides. Mais la revanche n'était qu'apparente et, dans les plus belles provinces de l'Empire, la religion musulmane inspirait une culture qui menaçait la civilisation byzantine tout entière.

Sa répugnance à représenter des formes animées semble bien n'avoir pas été étrangère aux explosions iconoclastes qui, au commencement du VIII^e siècle, désolèrent l'Eglise grecque. Après avoir sauvé Constantinople des attaques des Arabes, Léon III l'Isaurien, en publiant l'édit qui interdisait le culte des Images, cédait au vieil esprit sémitique dont l'Islam était alors le principal représentant. Victorieuse au dehors, la civilisation byzantine, au même moment, faisait une place aux influences qu'elle combattait: l'esprit chrétien se rencontrait avec l'Islamisme dans un même parti-pris contre un art religieux préoccupé de donner à Dieu une expression concrète et humanisée. Succédant à la victoire de la religion musulmane, le mouvement iconoclaste représente donc l'apport d'anciennes traditions dont le triomphe eut pu être d'une grande importance pour Byzance.

Mais l'art surtout se trouve alors à un moment critique de son développement: privé de son répertoire habituel de formes, il doit s'orienter vers d'autres tendances, avoir recours à de nouveaux motifs. Sans doute, les empereurs iconoclastes n'étaient point, comme on l'imaginait autrefois, des "puritains ennemis de l'art"; mais, en jetant l'interdit précisément sur les thèmes dont la peinture religieuse tirait le plus grand parti, ils semblaient l'engager dans une impasse ou exiger d'elle un effort de renouvellement presque inconcevable. Imagine-t-on ce que serait devenu l'art d'un Raphaël ou de n'importe quel peintre religieux d'Occident auquel auraient soudain fait défaut la beauté naturelle des figures, la vie des formes animées? C'est pourtant à un risque de ce genre que les Iconoclastes exposaient la peinture byzantine, en la jetant tout à coup hors de l'univers ou l'humanisme gréco-romain l'avait placée dès son origine.

Ainsi, au VII^e et au VIII^e siècles, par le mouvement iconoclaste qui la détourne des anciens motifs, par la civilisation musulmane qui, en lui empruntant ses modèles et sa tech-



FIG. 1—VUE DE LA CITÉ DE DAMAS. AU CENTRE LA MOSQUÉE DES OMAIYADES



FIG. 2—MOSAÏQUES DE LA MOSQUÉE DES OMAIYADES: MAISONS À TERRASSE

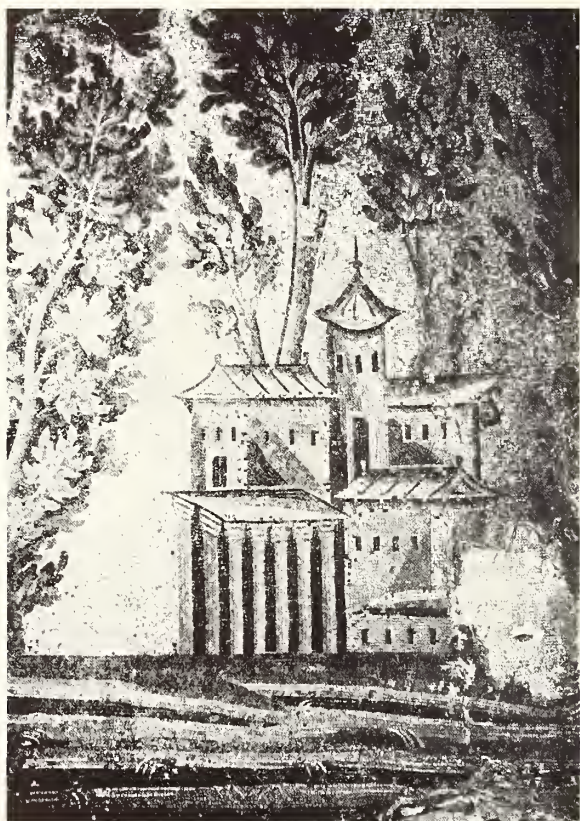


FIG. 3—MAISONS AUX MURS NUS



FIG. 4—POIRIER



FIG. 5—NOYER

nique, la dispose à se prêter à une inspiration différente, elle est orientée, dans quelques-unes de ses œuvres, vers des thèmes nouveaux.

Les mosaïques de la Mosquée des Omayyades à Damas (*Fig. 1*) semblent être une de ces œuvres-là. Sur la colonnade de la porte d'entrée, Bāb al-Barīd, et les murs du portique qui l'avoisine, elles déroulent un décor dont les éléments ne sont pas nouveaux dans l'art byzantin, mais qui ne se retrouvent avec un caractère aussi accusé et cette importance dans aucune autre composition.

Architecture et paysage, tels en sont les deux thèmes principaux: dans le panneau central qui se développe sur une largeur de 34 mètres 50 et une hauteur de 7 m 30 toutes sortes d'édifices, réels ou fantastiques, sont disposés. Les premiers, maisons aux murs nus (*Figs. 2, 3*), qu'ouvrent d'étroites fenêtres, maisons à pignon avec toit à double pente, colonnades et portiques, sont reproduits plus d'une fois dans les mosaïques ou sur les miniatures des manuscrits byzantins; les prophètes, les patriarches, les apôtres, tous les personnages de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament sortent de maisons romaines ou d'habitations byzantines de ce style. Quant aux portiques dont l'usage était si répandu en Syrie, ils se retrouvent aussi, et, en particulier, parmi les édifices que groupe la représentation de Jérusalem et de Bethléem: par dessus l'enceinte qui figure les murailles de la ville, on les aperçoit sur les mosaïques de Sainte-Sabine, de St-Vital ou de Ste-Venance, tels que les montrent les compositions de Damas.¹

Le second thème—et le thème essentiel—est constitué par le paysage. Il est moins facile de comparer à ce point de vue les principales compositions de la peinture byzantine avec celles de Damas. Au juste, le paysage qui se développe sur les murs de la mosquée des Omayyades, avec ses arbres haut dressés sur le devant de la scène (*Figs. 4, 5*), la rivière qui coule d'un mouvement vif et régulier, les rochers aux contours souples et bien dessinés, compose un décor qui semblait être resté jusqu'ici tout à fait étranger à l'art byzantin. Sans doute, les éléments de ce décor n'en sont pas absents: il est peu de mosaïques où ne puissent se voir des arbres, le plus souvent des palmiers, quelquefois un chêne ou des oliviers, comme à St-Vital. A Ste Marie Majeure, Moïse meurt couché sur le sommet d'une montagne et c'est dans un décor de rochers et d'arbustes qu'à Galla-Placidia, le Bon Pasteur paît ses six brebis. Mais, dans toutes ces compositions, l'importance du paysage reste accessoire. Plutôt qu'un ensemble où la nature s'exprimerait dans sa fantaisie et sa libre variété, le "paysage byzantin" constitue un cadre presque abstrait d'où tout caractère réaliste, tout

¹ A Ste Sabine, à St-Laurent-Hors-les Murs et à Ste Venance, on peut même voir à l'intérieur des portes qui ouvrent sur Bethléem et Jérusalem trois ornements retenus par une chaîne qui rappellent curieusement des ornements disposés d'une manière analogue à Damas. De même, la façon dont les artistes damasquins ont groupé, dans certaines compositions, toute une suite d'édifices se retrouve dans la disposition qu'ont utilisée les mosaïstes pour représenter des villes au dessus de

remparts: les maisons, les portiques, les églises se dressent donnant l'illusion, comme à Damas, qu'ils prennent appui les uns sur les autres et qu'ils s'élèvent sur un plan vertical. La perspective s'est refusée à exprimer, ici et là, la profondeur. Dans la carte de *Madaba*, on trouve des villes figurées d'une manière analogue, mais les remparts sont à peine indiqués sur le pourtour du plan.

détail pittoresque a été retiré. Il est subordonné aux processions des saints personnages qui y évoluent et presque confisqué par elles. A Damas, au contraire, les arbres, la rivière, les montagnes ne sont point limités par le mouvement et la disposition des figures. Ils ne servent pas à orchestrer d'autres thèmes: ils jouent le premier rôle et les cyprès ou les noyers sont devant nous comme des personnages, hiératiques et solennels (*Fig. 6*).

Une telle représentation de la nature nous ramène à certaines tendances de la peinture hellénistique où, à partir du IV^e siècle et sous l'influence de diverses causes, le paysage avait pris une grande place. Les formes animées s'y situent en un monde qui n'est point seulement figuré, mais décrit, et que font vivre toutes sortes d'observations directes et précises. On peut même remarquer que, dans les paysages d'Ulysse, la nature n'est plus à la mesure de l'homme et que, dominant les personnages qui y semblent comme perdus, elle donne, par sa disproportion avec les figures, le sentiment d'un espace illimité. Les peintures de la Casa de Livia à Prima porta nous montrent les mêmes motifs que nous pouvons distinguer à Damas: parcs, vergers, bosquets d'agrément.

Ce qui rend plus précise encore la filiation de nos compositions avec les peintures hellénistiques, c'est que dans cette nature prennent place toutes sortes de constructions: la végétation y entoure et ombrage une profusion d'édifices légers et de fantaisie. L'architecture mêlée au paysage cherche à reproduire cette unité gracieuse et facile, ce pittoresque mesuré et humain que l'accord parfait des deux thèmes prête à tant de décors pompéiens. Nous les retrouvons assemblés, sinon, comme nous verrons, tout à fait accordés, dans nos compositions qui se rattachent ainsi au genre hellénistique "architecture avec paysage."

C'est la même influence que manifestent les formes diverses des édifices: les maisons simples, entre les arbres (*Figs. 7, 8*), sont semblables aux habitations romaines que l'on rencontre dans le deuxième style pompéien. D'autres que l'apparence irréaliste d'un décor fantastique et somptueux semble associer aux caractères d'un art plus oriental, révèlent une origine toute proche. On y retrouve l'influence des traditions hellénistiques—celles qui, notamment dans le quatrième style pompéien, avaient rendu familier dans les maisons particulières et dans les lieux publics l'usage des décors de théâtre. On sait en effet qu'à cette époque, les peintres, comme plus tard les sculpteurs, ont utilisé les motifs d'une architecture de fantaisie et proprement de théâtre pour leurs œuvres dont quelques-unes ne sont même que la copie de *scenarum frontes*.

Tels sont précisément les éléments que nous ont conservés certaines de nos compositions et, en particulier, celle qui représente une exèdre (*Fig. 9*) dont le style est si classique: colonnade, portes s'ouvrant sur l'intérieur, c'est la disposition adoptée par le théâtre ancien. Le magnifique panneau où sont figurés deux pavillons polygonaux aux toits pointus ou tholoï (*Fig. 10*), produit une impression analogue. Malgré le réalisme de certains détails, la composition garde un aspect d'artifice. Elle ne cherche point à se faire passer pour réelle: c'est, au sens propre, une construction "peinte sur un mur," pouvant servir de fond. Exactement, elle semble être la reproduction de décors de théâtre.

Cette tradition qui a inspiré à Damas plusieurs compositions, a laissé d'autres vestiges

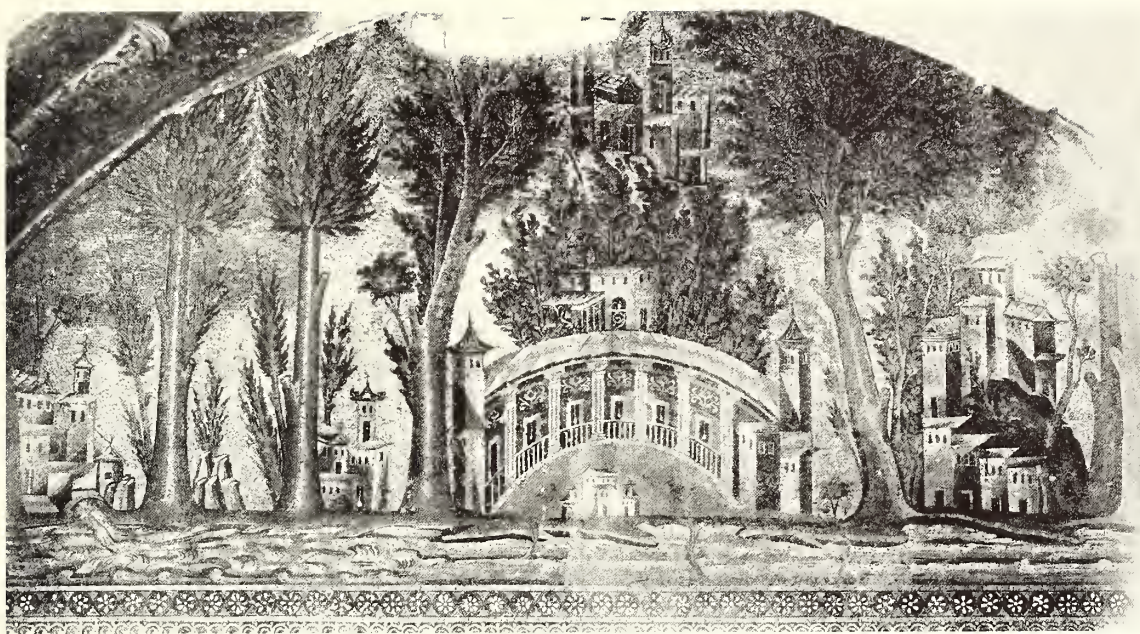


FIG. 6—COMPOSITION DE GAUCHE DU PANNEAU PRINCIPAL



FIG. 7—CASTELLUM



FIG. 8—REMOUS RÉALISTES DE L'EAU



FIG. 9—EXÈDRE

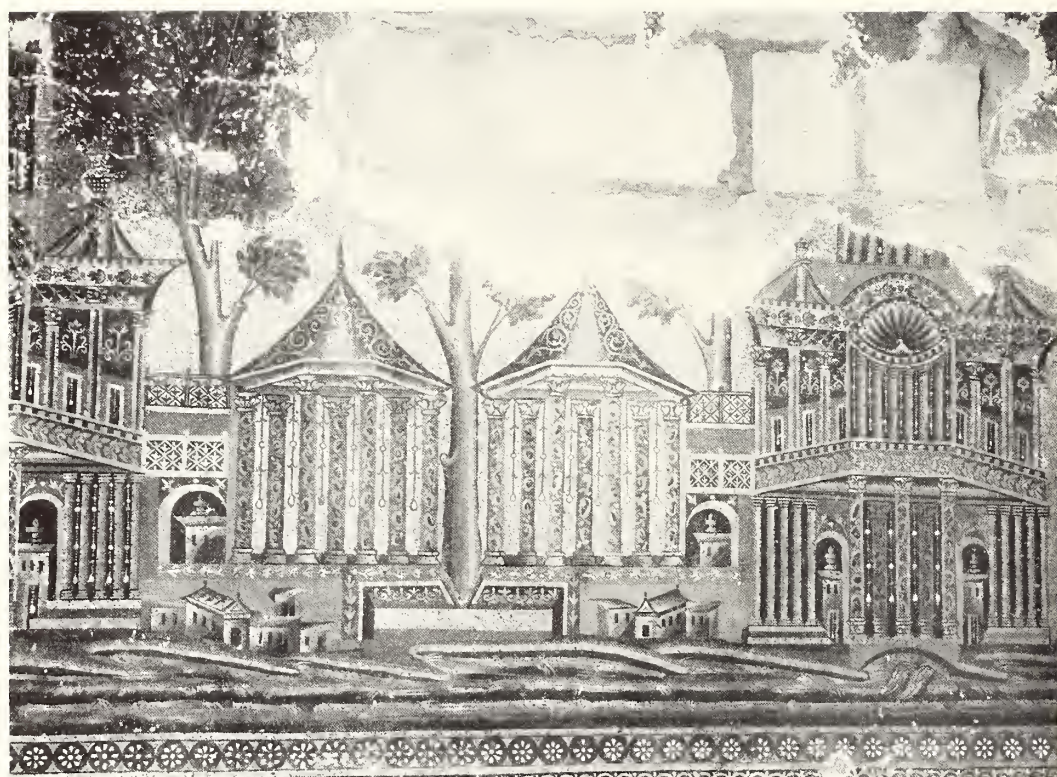


FIG. 10—COMPOSITION CENTRALE DU PANNEAU PRINCIPAL

dans l'art byzantin. Le plus notable peut-être se trouve à Saint-Georges de Salonique. Avec leurs colonnades superposées, leurs loggias, leurs demi-coupoles en coquille, les palais d'un caractère si alexandrin qui y sont représentés rappellent les motifs en faveur dans le quatrième style pompéien. Bien plus, la même tradition a fourni des modèles à plusieurs miniatures des manuscrits byzantins. Les portraits des Évangélistes, par exemple, reproduits dans l'Évangile syriaque de Florence, le Rabula, ont pour cadre un décor architectural fantaisiste où l'influence du même style est sensible. On peut y voir St Mathieu ou St Marc écrivant le texte sacré à la place et dans le décor où les personnages comiques faisaient leurs tours; aux masques du théâtre antique ont succédé de saints personnages. L'humanisme chrétien, par ce détail pittoresque, manifeste son caractère et l'influence qu'ont exercée sur les moindres détails de l'art religieux les traditions antiques.

Ce sont ces traditions dont les mosaïques de Damas attestent la persistance et la force à une époque tardive où elles semblaient être devenues étrangères au développement de l'art: celles-ci nous ont mis en présence du monument aux proportions les plus vastes que nous ait laissé la mosaïque dans l'art byzantin, après celles de St-Apollinaire-le-Neuf, et pour l'effort de composition, de coordination des divers motifs, le plus important de tous. Nous n'en avons point d'autre où, sur une surface de 35 mètres, des thèmes aussi complexes soient parvenus à s'équilibrer sans développement uniforme et à constituer une unité qui n'est pas faite de la répétition d'un même sujet, comme à St-Apollinaire. Cette constatation matérielle porte témoignage de l'effort considérable et si heureux parfois, dont, au VIII^e siècle, les mosaïstes pouvaient être capables. Elle manifeste aussi la vitalité de l'esprit classique resté assez vivant pour inspirer une œuvre de cette importance.

On peut penser en effet que les artistes damasquins ont eu à leur disposition des modèles remontant à l'époque hellénistique, qui leur ont fourni leur sujet et certains détails de leurs compositions. La diversité des motifs dont quelques-uns se rattachent à des époques différentes, la présence, dans l'ensemble parfois si rigoureusement composé, de certains thèmes associés sans souci d'unité que la commodité des modèles seule leur a fait retenir permettent de supposer suivant la remarque de F. Cumont, au sujet des fresques de Doura-Europos, que les mosaïstes de Damas *ont puisé, avec plus ou moins de discernement, dans un recueil de dessins à l'usage des ateliers d'art.*

Cet emploi n'a pas été moins familier aux artistes de l'antiquité qu'à ceux de la Renaissance. Toutes les époques et presque toutes les techniques nous en ont gardé des exemples. La tradition littéraire, par les renseignements détaillés qu'elle nous apporte sur ce sujet, confirme qu'il y a eu, notamment dans la basse antiquité, des copies et des copies de copies. La peinture romaine, par exemple, emprunte à la tradition hellénistique des modèles dont elle ne suit pas seulement l'esprit, mais qu'elle imite jusque dans les détails. M. Rizzo, dans son livre sur la peinture hellénistique, en cite d'intéressants exemples: un bas-relief de la période d'Hadrien qui représente Thésée abandonnant Ariane, reproduit le sujet, les figures et la composition même du décor d'un vase grec appartenant à la première moitié du IV^e siècle. Dans une peinture de la Maison du Poète Tragique, on observe le même

thème, la même disposition et cette fidélité aux mêmes détails qui est le signe d'une imitation directe et consciente.

On peut faire une observation analogue à propos d'une composition de la Volta Dorata et du haut-relief que montre le sarcophage découvert à Tripoli en Syrie. L'un et l'autre apparaissent comme les copies d'un original commun dont peintre et sculpteur se sont servis comme de cartons.

Mais cette utilisation même de modèles hellénistiques ne s'explique que par la persistance des traditions qui les ont inspirés. Elle n'établit pas seulement leur survivance plus ou moins lointaine; elle montre qu'elles n'avaient pas cessé d'exercer une influence vivante. Sur cet exemple significatif apparaît quel lien profond, quels intimes échanges unissent l'art byzantin et les traditions de l'art antique. Celles-ci n'y figurent point comme des modèles trop parfaits où rien ne peut changer: elles inspirent encore des inventions nouvelles; elles sont associées, comme nous le verrons, à des découvertes, à des mouvements qui sont les premiers mouvements d'arts nouveaux.

Il serait facile d'en marquer la continuité, la suite à peine interrompue dans tout le développement de l'art byzantin. Les périodes qu'on y a distinguées ne représentent guère que des époques où ces influences nous sont plus connues; mais, à des dates très différentes, on en trouve d'admirables exemples. Au IV^e et au V^e siècles où l'art de Byzance manifeste déjà en des œuvres achevées ses principaux caractères, certaines compositions, par l'esprit et le style même, semblent avoir recueilli, presque sans l'altérer, l'héritage antique. On connaît les mosaïques de Ste Marie Majeure: elles ont cette grâce aisée, ce charme naturel et pourtant inimitable que montrent les œuvres classiques. La technique même essaie, selon les procédés de l'impressionisme hellénistique, d'y suivre la nature dans toutes ses nuances, d'en exprimer le mouvement par des changements de tons auxquels résiste plus d'une fois l'art de la mosaïque. Le mosaïste, trop fidèle aux traditions réalistes de l'antiquité, a fait violence à sa technique, plus apte à montrer qu'à décrire, à figurer qu'à raconter. Ces tableaux de mosaïque apportés selon toute vraisemblance de l'Orient chrétien et probablement d'Antioche établissent avec quelle pureté s'y étaient conservées les traditions hellénistiques. A Milan, de même, on peut voir représentée sur les murs de l'Oratorio S. Aquilino une scène pastorale, toute imprégnée du charme alexandrin: c'est un des rares exemples où le paysage ne soit pas seulement indiqué en quelques traits sommaires.

Il ne peut être question d'énumérer les diverses œuvres de la peinture byzantine où la présence de l'antiquité est marquée autrement que par la fidélité à de grands principes communs. A St Démétrius de Salonique qu'on assigne au VI-VII^e siècle, c'est par un "air", un certain esprit, un tour à la fois naturel et rigoureux qu'on en reconnaît l'influence sur les portraits si expressifs des donateurs. Au Baptistère des Ariens, de la même époque, l'artiste utilise la mythologie païenne dans une scène qui ne comporte pourtant aucun thème profane. Plus encore, les précieuses peintures de Santa Maria Antiqua demeurent fidèles aux traditions de vérité et de naturel; certaines figures gardent cette expression indéfinissable, trait éminent du classicisme, où s'expriment à la fois l'art et la nature. Il n'y a ici nul

académisme, nul emprunt extérieur, mais une familiarité singulière, un accord sans défaut avec une tradition vivante dont on ne trahit pas l'esprit.

Plus tard sans doute, les artistes oublient, en partie, ces rapports privilégiés avec le monde hellénistique. L'art devient un spectacle qui ne leur est plus directement accessible. Mais il est loin de rester étranger à leurs préoccupations. La "renaissance macédonienne" s'accompagne d'un renouveau de l'antique culture grecque, d'une prédilection d'humaniste pour les souvenirs classiques. L'Archange de S. Angelo in Formis est au XII^e siècle un exemple surprenant de l'équilibre grec entre une observation vivante et une exécution préoccupée uniquement de l'éternel et de l'immuable: sur le visage de l'archange où rien n'est concédé au hasard, au caprice des détails restent sensibles, comme une présence ordonnée et souveraine, le mouvement et l'attention au réel.

Enfin des découvertes et des études récentes—entr'autres l'étude des fresques serbes—ont montré qu'aux siècles suivants les mêmes tendances se retrouvent, les mêmes attaches à des traditions qui semblent pouvoir se transmettre presque indéfiniment sans se perdre et restent capables de participer à toutes sortes de formes, de fictions, d'inventions nouvelles par le plus étonnant des commerces. On peut donc dire avec P. Muratoff que, tout au long de son histoire, "la tradition hellénistique n'est jamais morte dans la peinture byzantine." Dans cet ensemble, une œuvre comme les mosaïques de Damas prend place naturellement: par les influences antiques qui s'y font jour, elles restent conformes à la tradition la plus authentique de Byzance.

Apparemment, elles n'en trahissent pas l'esprit et, cependant, elles sont, dans l'art byzantin, presque sans analogue. Leurs thèmes d'où est absente toute forme animée, annoncent l'orientation nouvelle que préparait à l'art la double interdiction par les musulmans orthodoxes et par les chrétiens iconoclastes de représenter la figure humaine ou du moins de figurer la divinité. Les Iconoclastes renonçant aux ressources habituelles de l'iconographie, forçaient les artistes à rechercher une autre source d'inspiration. C'est alors, en effet que, dans les églises, les sujets profanes, les paysages pleins d'arbres et d'oiseaux remplacent les scènes de l'histoire sainte. Au lieu de pieuses images, des vergers, des chasses, les jeux de l'hippodrome ornent les basiliques chrétiennes, et le retour à une décoration profane est aussi un retour à l'imitation des modèles antiques.

C'est cette renaissance, nous l'avons vu, qu'illustrent les mosaïques de Damas. Elles nous permettent ainsi d'imaginer dans quelles voies, à l'époque iconoclaste, pouvait s'engager la peinture byzantine. Un art qui, tout en cessant d'être exclusivement attaché à la représentation humaine, ne cesse pas d'être naturaliste, qui renonce à donner une forme à Dieu, tendance essentielle de l'humanisme gréco-romain, mais ne renonce pas à s'inspirer des traditions antiques et, au contraire, s'y renouvelle, en y faisant retour comme à sa source, voilà ce que par analogie on peut conjecturer que pût être l'art des Iconoclastes sur lequel nous n'avons que des renseignements littéraires.

Témoin anticipé de cet art, les mosaïques de Damas nous renseignent en même temps et plus directement encore sur les premières manifestations de l'art musulman. Destinées à

donner à la mosquée des Omayyades une parure sans égale, œuvre d'un calife qui faisait montre d'une grande ferveur religieuse, elles portent la marque des premières ambitions de l'Islam et peut-être déjà d'un esprit nouveau. Le style omaiyade, on le sait, est voué à des influences que lui ont imposées les hasards de la conquête et non point quelque secrète correspondance. Ses origines le laissent confondu apparemment avec d'autres arts qu'inspirent un idéal religieux différent, une âme hostile. La civilisation arabe, si brillante qu'elle soit sous les premiers califes, brille d'un éclat emprunté et l'art n'est à l'origine qu'une variation de l'art local suivant les exigences de la religion coranique. En Syrie, il est d'abord syro-byzantin: c'est en gros ce que nous montrent nos mosaïques. A leur propos, il a été question beaucoup plus souvent de Byzance que de l'Islam, et en décorant magnifiquement la mosquée de Damas, le calife Walīd a travaillé pour la gloire de ses ennemis autant que pour sa propre gloire.

Cependant, cet accord général qui, à l'origine, empêche de distinguer l'art musulman de l'art byzantin, laisse certaines nuances se faire jour que ne pouvait manquer d'entraîner un esprit différent. Faiblement marquées et peu sensibles encore, elles n'en apportent pas moins le pressentiment d'un art nouveau. Il ne faut pas oublier d'ailleurs qu'à cette même époque se rencontrent trois monuments musulmans par destination, qui constituent avec les peintures de Sāmarrā les trois œuvres picturales les plus importantes que puisse revendiquer la civilisation islamique. Les peintures de ẖuṣair 'Amra, certaines des mosaïques qui décorent la Coupole-du-Rocher à Jérusalem, celles enfin de la mosquée des Omayyades toutes les trois appartenant à la même période (la plus ancienne de ces compositions, celles de Jérusalem qui datent de 691 n'étant pas séparées d'un quart de siècle de la plus récente, celle de ẖuṣair 'Amra attribuée à la deuxième décennie du VIII^e s.) forment un ensemble assez remarquable pour que l'on soit tenté d'y rechercher des indications sur "l'orientation musulmane" de l'art byzantin.

Une première remarque nous est fournie par les peintures murales de ẖuṣair 'Amra dont l'influence antique, par son importance, constitue le trait frappant. Elle est sensible dans le style des figures, dans certains détails et jusque dans le choix des sujets. Les figures de l'Ἱστορία, de la Ποίησις, de la Νίκη et Σκέψις appartiennent à la pure tradition syro-hellénistique. De même, c'est à la mythologie qu'est empruntée la figuration de telle scène traitée avec une liberté toute païenne: dans l'une d'elles on peut reconnaître un couple couché et, au dessus, un petit amour, les ailes déployées: la femme nue assise a été identifiée avec Vénus. A n'en pas douter, le peintre a eu à sa disposition des modèles antiques. Les figures mythologiques ont été copiées, comme l'a observé R. Dussaud:¹ l'Amour, par exemple, offre l'image retournée de l'Eros classique tirant de l'arc. Ainsi, les peintres syriens du VIII^e siècle travaillaient d'après des anciens modèles déformés et composites, et peut-être d'après d'anciens dessins, comme certains caractères de nos mosaïques nous en ont suggéré la remarque.

¹ *Syria*, Tome IV, Paris, 1923.

D'autres détails encore soulignent cette filiation: à leurs parties inférieures, les murs en plusieurs endroits présentent comme motifs décoratifs des tentures et des draperies dont les plis sont figurés par un système régulier de lignes (*Figs. 11, 12*). Wickoff a signalé que des motifs semblables se trouvaient dans la maison de Pansa, à Pompéï; c'est donc qu'ils remontent aux premiers temps de l'époque impériale.

De même, l'architecture qui sert de fonds à plusieurs scènes principales, est une architecture irréaliste (*Fig. 13*), celle-là même qui apparaît dans les peintures décoratives pompéiennes, qu'on retrouve sur les miniatures des manuscrits byzantins et que les mosaïstes de Damas ont parée d'un luxe, d'une fantaisie extraordinaires.

Quoique à un moindre degré, c'est à la même tradition classique qu'à se rattachent certaines compositions des mosaïques de la Coupole-du-Rocher. Quelques petits panneaux (*Fig. 14*) montrent le même réalisme précis et libre que les mosaïques de Damas: les arbustes qui y sont représentés, quoique simplement figurés et d'une exécution un peu sèche, imitent la nature avec art et ce souci d'observation réelle et exacte qui est, à cette époque, le signe par excellence d'une influence antique. Il y a donc là une rencontre significative. Il semblerait qu'alors la civilisation musulmane, n'ayant ni modèles, ni traditions d'art, se soit comme reconnue dans l'humanisme gréco-romain. Elle lui emprunte avec prédilection ses moyens d'expression, comme si de toutes les cultures dont elle pouvait recueillir l'héritage, celle-ci lui était la moins opposée. C'est qu'elle y trouvait la ressource d'un art profane étranger à la mystique chrétienne qu'elle venait combattre. Sans doute, en ne proscrivant point à Kuşair 'Amra les représentations mythologiques, Walid ne montrait pas une orthodoxie très rigoureuse; mais la présence de l'Amour et de Vénus devait à coup sûr être moins insupportable à un musulman, même intransigeant, que celles des personnages de l'Ancien ou du Nouveau Testament. De même le choix de scènes où, comme à Damas et à Jérusalem, le paysage et la végétation jouent le rôle habituellement réservé aux personnages, manifeste en même temps que leur répugnance à représenter la figure humaine, le mépris qu'inspirait aux Arabes l'iconographie chrétienne.

L'humanisme gréco-romain leur a servi ainsi à constituer d'abord un art qui échappât à l'influence de l'idéalisme chrétien, et ensuite un art inhumain qui ne fût point seulement ou principalement occupé à figurer l'homme. Naturalisme et humanisme représentaient, pour les premiers musulmans, plutôt que des tendances positives, l'envers de ce qu'ils ne pouvaient accepter. De même qu'en utilisant l'Amour et Vénus, ils consentaient à être païens pour éviter tout emprunt à l'iconographie byzantine, de même le naturalisme qu'ils ont suscité à Damas ne prouve pas que la tendance essentielle d'un art musulman fût dès lors d'imiter la nature et d'en donner une représentation fidèle et sans artifice; il établit seulement leur souci de rechercher d'autres thèmes et peut-être de s'orienter différemment. Ne serait-il pas naturel, dans ces conditions, qu'à l'influence hellénistique ici et là d'autres se soient mêlées ou du moins que cette influence nous mette en présence de caractères qui ne sont point ceux d'un art classique?

Les fresques de Kuşair 'Amra nous font pressentir ce qu'on peut attendre à cet égard

de l'art omayyade. On en a signalé avec raison l'aspect classique, mais d'une manière peut-être trop exclusive: déjà, Max van Berchem remarquait que le point de vue de Wickoff préoccupé de ne trouver d'analogies que dans l'art pompéien ou l'art byzantin, était insuffisant. Le classicisme, notait-il n'en est réel qu'autant que l'art syrien est classique et il souhaitait qu'on les comparât avec les mosaïques de Jérusalem et ce qu'il restait alors des mosaïques de Damas.¹

Ce qui n'est pas moins frappant que les réminiscences antiques, c'est la part qui y est donnée à l'histoire récente. Toute une série de petits tableaux nous montre les divers corps de métier, nous voyons le tailleur de pierre, le scieur de long, le maçon. Ailleurs, deux hommes dépècent une antilope tuée à la chasse. Il est difficile de reconnaître là les compositions d'un art appartenant entièrement au passé, comme le dit E. Kühnel.² Il est difficile aussi dans la présence de certains motifs—on peut voir, par exemple, un chameau, un singe, un ours jouant d'un instrument analogue à la *rabāb* des Arabes—de ne pas distinguer l'apport d'une école locale qui aux thèmes traditionnels mêle les sujets d'une observation plus directe. Le fait que le calife y est figuré, assis sur un trône, nimbé, dans tout l'éclat de sa majesté souveraine n'est pas non plus sans signification (*Fig. 15*).

Mais le tableau qui couvre la paroi occidentale de la grande salle (*Fig. 16*), attire surtout l'attention: on a établi que les six personnages qui s'y trouvent, représentaient les "ennemis de l'Islam" ou "les rois de la terre" et probablement l'empereur de Byzance, le roi visigoth d'Espagne Rodrigue ou Rodorich, l'empereur sassanide Chosroès et le négus d'Abyssinie; les deux autres seraient l'empereur de Chine et le *Khān* de Turquie. Herzfeld, dans cet ensemble, voit une œuvre purement sassanide. Les arguments qu'il fait valoir sont sérieux: les six figures sont groupées sur deux rangées, selon une disposition en usage dans la sculpture sassanide qui y attache l'idée d'une distinction hiérarchique. C'est la disposition même que montrent le site de *Shāpūr* et les scènes de *Naḳsh-i-Rustam* et de *Naḳsh-i-Radjab*.

D'autre part, la sculpture sassanide semble s'être complue dans les scènes d'hommage, d'offrande, de tributs. On en peut reconnaître les principaux caractères dans le tableau de *Ḳuṣair 'Amra* où les trois personnages du deuxième plan se tiennent dans une attitude de soumission et où Chosroès, au centre, la tête ceinte de la couronne des empereurs sassanides, paraît recevoir l'hommage des autres rois. Herzfeld, pour expliquer ce mode de groupement et la présence de Chosroès que sa défaite semblait exclure des "rois de la terre," suggère une hypothèse ingénieuse: une composition sassanide où paraissait entr'autres Chosroès aurait servi de modèle au tableau omayyade, ou plus précisément celui-ci ne serait qu'une œuvre sassanide remaniée.

On peut retenir de cette supposition le rôle que semblent avoir joué à *Ḳuṣair 'Amra* les influences sassanides. Elles préfigurent dans cette œuvre qu'on ose à peine rattacher à

¹ "Au pays de Moab," *Journal des Savants* (1909), p. 309.

² *Die islamische Kunst*, p. 383.

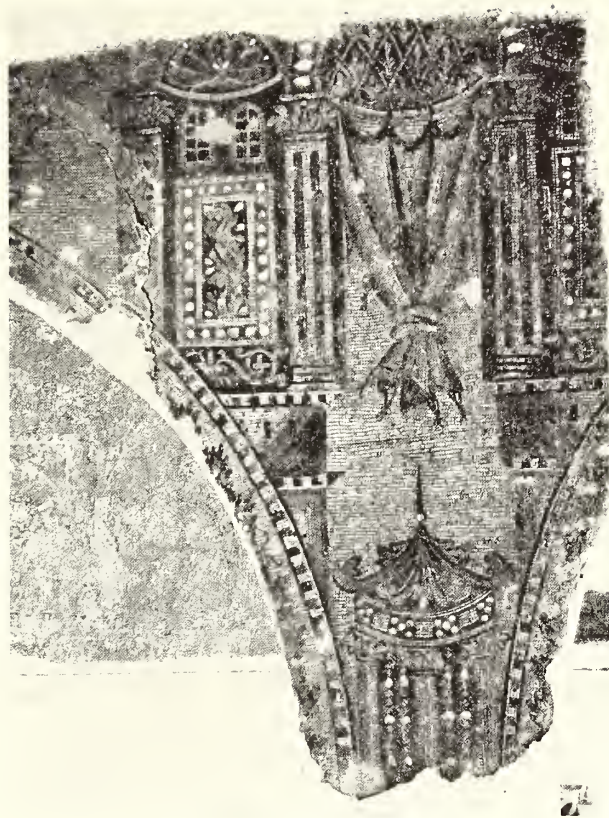


FIG. 11—RIDEAU NOUÉ

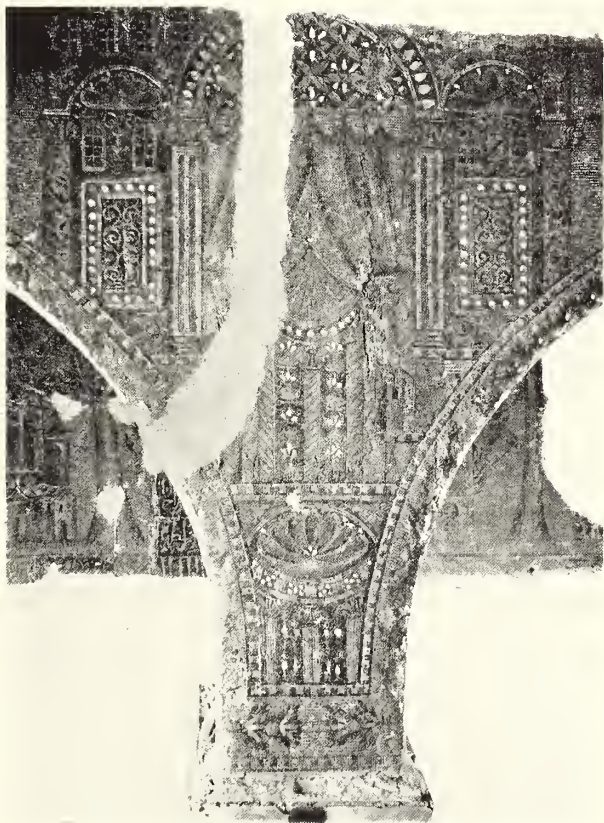


FIG. 12—RIDEAUX

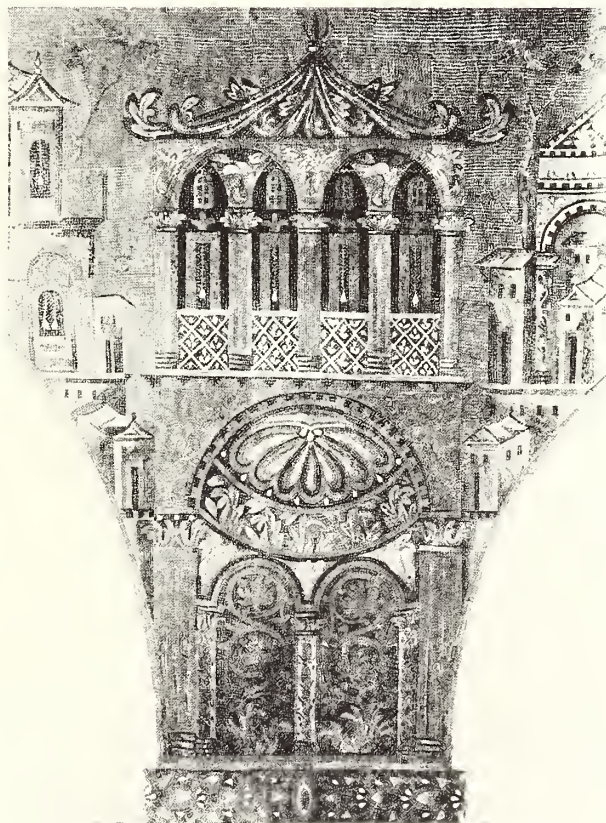


FIG. 13—TOITURE EN FEUILLES D'ACANTHE

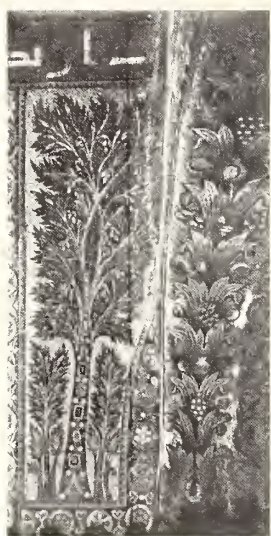


FIG. 14—MOSAÏQUES DE
LA COUPOLE-DU-ROCHER
À JÉRUSALEM
(D'APRÈS K. A. CRESWELL)



FIG. 16—FRESQUE DE KUSAIR 'AMRA: "LES
ENNEMIS DE L'ISLAM"
(D'APRÈS A. MUSIL)



FIG. 15—FRESQUE DE KUSAIR 'AMRA: LE CALIFE
(D'APRÈS A. MUSIL)



FIG. 17—MOSAÏQUES DE LA COUPOLE-DU-ROCHER
À JÉRUSALEM
(D'APRÈS K. A. CRESWELL)



FIG. 18—FRESQUE DE SĀMARRĀ: LES DANSEUSES
ISTANBUL, ÇINILI KÖSK
(D'APRÈS E. HERZFELD)

un art islamique naissant, la part essentielle que, plus tard, les influences persanes et iraniennes prendront à son développement. On peut même penser qu'elles ne sont pas accidentelles: dans la décoration de la Coupole-du-Rocher se retrouvent des motifs stylisés (*Fig. 17*) palmettes de feuillage, rosettes, rinceaux couronnés d'une paire d'ailes, grappes de raisin, pommes de pin, qui nous orientent aussi vers la Mésopotamie et la Perse sassanide. De même qu'à Kuşair 'Amra, on dirait que l'apport de cet art qui fut à tant d'égards si accessible à l'influence hellénistique, eut pour objet de permettre la coopération en une même œuvre des traditions classiques et orientales: par la double tendance qui y apparaît d'une part vers la représentation réaliste de la nature, d'autre part, vers la stylisation ornementale, les mosaïques de Jérusalem répètent plus ou moins parfaitement les deux aspects de l'art sassanide.

C'est enfin son influence persistante que donne aux peintures de Sāmarrā, un siècle plus tard, leur principal caractère. On sait qu'au IX^e siècle cette ville succéda pendant quelque temps à Bagdad comme résidence 'abbāsīde. Les fresques que les fouilles y ont mises au jour, ainsi que le décor sculpté, sont d'une grande importance pour l'art musulman. Le caractère hellénistique en est fortement marqué. E. Herzfeld qui a publié à leur sujet des études considérables, remarque que "l'art de Sāmarrā se fonde sur un art qui est hellénistique en toutes ses parties." Dans l'héritage qu'a recueilli l'Islam et où il a mis la marque de son esprit, la part de l'antiquité semble donc attestée aux divers lieux de ses origines.

La présence de l'art sassanide y est associée au même titre: d'après les études de Herzfeld, la peinture de Sāmarrā n'en est que le dernier rejet. Elle partage avec lui le souci d'une symétrie rigoureuse, d'un groupement rythmique et simple. Elle lui emprunte ses ambitions réalistes et en même temps ses recherches d'un style ornemental, plus proche de la technique des tissus. Comme lui enfin, elle met en œuvre, sous l'influence de l'hellénisme, tout un monde de formes très anciennes; elle ranime les vieilles conceptions esthétiques de l'Orient auxquelles les tendances nouvelles allaient prêter comme une seconde vie. Certains types d'hommes, par exemple le portrait du prêtre chrétien reproduit par Herzfeld¹ ne sont pas sans analogie avec les figures palmyréniennes de Doura-Europos. Les danseuses dont le caractère est si remarquable, semblent de leur côté "des retouches d'œuvres classiques" suivant le goût gréco-bactrien (*Fig. 18*). Enfin telles représentations d'animaux prennent place naturellement dans les œuvres de la Perse mazdéenne et évoquent Persépolis ou Tāk-i-Būstān.

S'agit-il donc, comme le pense Herzfeld, de survivances qui nous permettraient d'entrevoir ce qu'a pu être le monde perdu de la peinture sassanide, mais ne laissent rien pressentir encore de ce que sera, avec la miniature, la future peinture musulmane? Il est cependant difficile de croire que la peinture de Sāmarrā est un dernier terme, l'ultime expression d'un art épuisé et mort, alors que la décoration sculptée des mêmes monuments renferme tous les germes et déjà même toutes les caractéristiques de l'art islamique. Que

¹ *Malereien*, pl. LXI.

l'une soit aussi nettement orientée vers l'avenir permet de supposer que l'autre n'est pas uniquement tournée vers le passé.

Peut-être même pourrait-on trouver entre la peinture de Sāmarrā et les miniatures musulmanes certains intermédiaires qui diminuent l'intervalle et rendent le passage plus naturel. On a fait remarquer que les enluminures manichéennes de Turfan des VIII^e-IX^e siècles (mission A. von Le Coq) montrent le même souci d'une composition massive et rigide qu'à Sāmarrā et se plaisent à la délicatesse du trait, à la vie des détails ou excelleront plus tard les enlumineurs musulmans. La même constatation s'applique à certains "primitifs" arabes de l'école de Bagdad, au XIII^e siècle, encore sensibles à la tradition hellénistique: le traitement des plis et, dans la "Promenade en gondole" (Musée asiatique, Leningrad), la manière de figurer les vagues rappellent très directement la technique de Sāmarrā; le dessin reste mêlé à la surface qu'il cerne: comme dans la peinture murale, il ne cherche à provoquer que des effets de masse sans prétendre à la subtilité, à la précision souple des miniatures persanes. Bien d'autres analogies seraient possibles dans l'Iran propre et dans l'Iran "extérieur" comme l'observe R. Grousset.

Ces remarques permettent, sinon d'établir une filiation certaine, du moins de distinguer les points de référence auxquels peuvent donner lieu les premières œuvres picturales de l'art musulman. Les influences sassanides et mésopotamiennes qui apparaissent déjà, plus ou moins marquées, dans les fresques de ẖuṣair 'Amra, les mosaïques de Jérusalem, le décor de Mshatta et dont les peintures de Sāmarrā vérifient l'action persistante et l'importance, ne constituent pas directement l'un des éléments de l'art islamique: à cette époque, il serait prématuré d'y chercher ses origines réelles et immédiates.¹ Mais elles dégagent une orientation. Dès ces commencements, elles font apparaître la tendance de l'art musulman, soucieux de ne point rompre avec les civilisations asiatiques, de même que les emprunts aux civilisations païennes et antiques soulignent son hostilité à l'égard de l'iconographie chrétienne. Elles forment ainsi l'un des anneaux de la chaîne par laquelle, dès ses premiers produits qui lui restent presque étrangers, la civilisation musulmane se rattache à l'Orient. Celle-ci y marque son goût pour une inspiration orientale tempérée et contenue, à laquelle elle ne veut pas sacrifier les caractères classiques de simplicité et de construction.

Ces constatations que suggèrent les œuvres picturales de l'époque omayyade, on peut les reprendre à propos de la plus considérable d'entre elles. Nous avons vu tout ce que les mosaïques de Damas doivent à l'hellénisme et aux traditions classiques. Mais comme à ẖuṣair 'Amra, comme à la Coupole-du-Rocher, l'influence de l'Orient n'est pas moins importante: elle semble pénétrer les modèles anciens d'un esprit qui les renouvelle. On peut dire que parfois l'art hellénistique y apparaît sans tout à fait s'y reconnaître. Suivant une com-

¹ Maurice Pézard dit d'une manière trop catégorique: "La civilisation musulmane, de l'Asie jusqu'aux confins de l'Espagne, ne fut que la fille des Sassanides et par eux la petite fille des grands empires de l'antique Orient; à vrai dire, il n'y eut pas d'art arabe, mais toujours un

art perse que les Sémites venus du Hedjaz purent parfois interpréter selon les tendances de leur propre génie, mais dont ils demeurèrent les esclaves." (*La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam et ses origines*, p. 20).



FIG. 19—MOSAÏQUES DE LA MOSQUÉE DES OMAIYADES: COMPOSITION DE DROIT DU
PANNEAU PRINCIPAL



FIG. 20—LES ÉDIFICES DE LA FIG. 19 DISPOSÉS D'APRÈS UNE PERSPECTIVE NORMALE

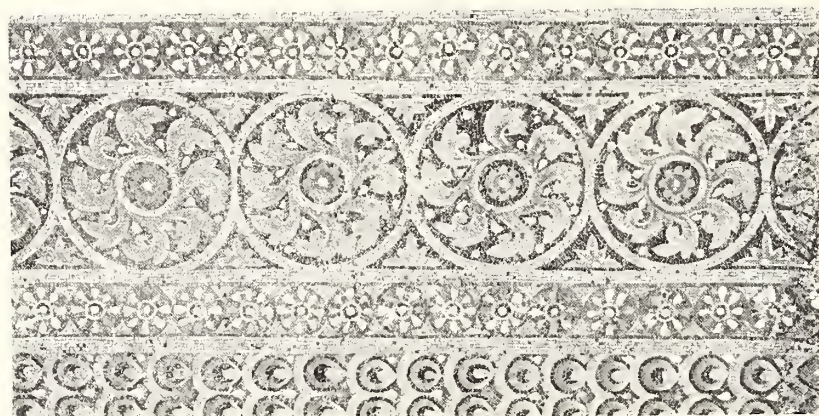


FIG. 21—MOSAÏQUE DE LA MOSQUÉE DES OMAÏYADES: BORDURE DE ROSETTES ET PLUMES DE PAON



FIG. 22—RUŞĀFA, FRESQUE DE L'ABSE: COURONNE DE PLUMES DE PAON

paraison que Herzfeld utilise précisément pour les peintures de Sāmarrā, mosaïste de Damas fait songer à l'artiste dont parle la légende hindoue: un jour, Bouddha parut devant un sculpteur et lui demanda de reproduire son image sur la pierre. Mais, ébloui par la splendeur du modèle, l'artiste ne put le regarder en face et c'est dans l'eau d'une source sur laquelle Bouddha pencha son visage, qu'il put en recueillir les traits. De l'éclatante présence, il n'avait saisi qu'un reflet. De même, comme lui, le mosaïste de Damas semble avoir distingué non vraiment l'âme de l'antiquité, mais une image reflétée.

Revoyons comment s'ordonnent les divers motifs. Ce qui frappe, c'est l'importance, la prédominance du rythme. Le réalisme n'y a point cette liberté nonchalante, cette grâce qui dérobe la rigueur d'une composition parfaitement définie. La structure de l'ensemble est si ferme, les motifs secondaires sont enclos dans un ordre si précis que le caractère descriptif de l'œuvre fait place à un caractère presque purement décoratif: l'artiste n'a pas seulement voulu imiter la nature, il a tenté de la reproduire dans un ordre qui emprunte à l'art plus qu'à la réalité. Ou, plus précisément, le réalisme apparaît dans les détails qu'a fixés une observation directe: l'arbre par ses fruits, la rivière par ses remous, le buisson par ses feuilles figurent vraiment un arbre, une rivière, un buisson. Mais l'ensemble dans lequel ces détails sont dispersés représente moins un paysage qu'une composition décorative, où une élaboration rythmique a fixé sa place à chaque élément. C'est là une tendance que ne connaît guère le paysage hellénistique, concret et harmonieux tout à la fois. Dans telle mosaïque célèbre de Pompéï, le jeu tempéré des lumières, les lignes souples des collines, leur mouvement marquent toute la scène d'un naturel aisé que l'art adoucit sans artifice.

Une pareille concordance manque aux mosaïques de Damas, sauf dans quelques compositions isolées où elle est réalisée avec bonheur. Tantôt le paysage est démesuré et rejette au second plan les édifices que l'attention retient à peine. Tantôt, c'est l'architecture qui prend la première place, rarement les deux thèmes s'associent et se composent pour assurer une unité réelle à l'ensemble. Mais si elle en est absente, ce n'est point sans doute que l'artiste a été incapable de la réaliser. Il visait évidemment un autre but. Et, empruntant à l'art hellénistique les modèles et les principales données de son œuvre, il a affirmé une vision différente où le paysage n'offre pas un cadre aux motifs qui s'y situent et s'y organisent, mais constitue un autre motif de même qualité que les autres, disposé sur un seul plan, le premier, selon la règle orientale de la frontalité.

C'est à l'Orient, en effet, que cette vision se rattache et l'action en est sensible jusque dans la disposition de certains ensembles. A cet égard, la composition de droite du panneau central est très caractéristique. L'aspect en est assez singulier: on dirait une pyramide formée d'édifices étrangement assemblés (*Fig. 19*) et constituant un échantillonnage des styles les plus divers: des maisons romaines, byzantines, des portiques, au premier plan un ciborium, des rochers et de la végétation ont pris place dans la composition. Mais si on le considère plus attentivement, en isolant les diverses parties (*Fig. 20*) on se trouve en présence d'une suite d'édifices, non pas superposés, mais placés les uns derrières les autres et distincts. Ce n'est que par suite des particularités de la perspective que nous les apercevons disposés sur une surface plane verticale, s'élevant comme une gigantesque pagode.

Il est curieux de retrouver sur un territoire qui touche à la Palestine un monument réel dont la façade présente une disposition analogue: à Pétra, la façade du Khaszna apparaît comme un décor dont les divers éléments développés en hauteur, comme il est naturel sur une surface verticale, figurent plusieurs monuments, propylées, portiques, tholos, destinés à prendre place les uns derrière les autres et à s'échelonner horizontalement dans l'espace. Il s'agit donc d'une sorte de stylisation de la réalité, obtenue par le moyen de la projection. On trouve ainsi au Khaszna, appliqués à un monument réel, les principes mêmes de perspective que montre à Damas une composition décorative et dont Wiegand a établi l'origine orientale. C'est là en effet une des lois du relief les plus anciennement en usage en Orient: on superpose ce qui devrait occuper des plans différents dans l'espace; la représentation réaliste de la profondeur fait place à une figuration décorative de la réalité.

On retrouve d'ailleurs une autre expression de cette tendance dans les divers exemples de perspective inverse que nous offrent les mosaïques de Damas et dont les particularités dérivent également d'un art oriental populaire.

Bien d'autres détails confirmeraient ces remarques; la bordure qui limite sur toute sa longueur le décor de mosaïque, présente des motifs dont l'origine n'est pas différente; la rosette à huit pétales qui forme une large bande parallèle vient d'Assyrie: elle apparaît notamment dans la célèbre frise du palais de Sargon à Khorsābād où elle joue le même rôle décoratif qu'à Damas. La première rangée de la bordure est faite d'un décor ocellé de plumes de paon alignées et juxtaposées (*Fig. 21*). A Ruṣāfa, nous avons pu relever dans la basilique un motif semblable: la croix peinte dans la demi-coupe de l'abside est enfermée dans une large couronne de plumes de paon tressées (*Fig. 22*).

Ces influences sont donc certaines. Il est même permis d'en préciser le caractère. Plutôt que d'artistes byzantins et d'ateliers venus de Byzance, il semble, en effet, que les mosaïques de Damas ont été l'œuvre d'une école syrienne. Une tradition de main d'œuvre indigène est attestée par plus d'un exemple: les mosaïques de la Coupole-du-Rocher qui, par le caractère de la décoration et le style de certains motifs, se rapprochent de celles de Damas, nous ont semblé se rattacher à cette tradition. Plus tard, les mosaïques des mausolées de Baibars et de Tankīz, des mihrābs de Ḥimṣ, de Ḥamā, de l'Adiliya à Jérusalem, établissent l'existence d'ateliers et d'écoles, ayant conservé un certain savoir-faire technique et fidèles à un esprit et peut-être à des modèles communs.

On sait d'autre part qu'Antioche fut pendant longtemps une des grandes villes du monde oriental et le foyer d'une civilisation singulière, où l'Orient représenté par les traditions locales put collaborer avec l'hellénisme. Même à une époque où elle est entrée définitivement en décadence, les écoles gréco-syriennes ont pu, avec celles de Damas, apporter le concours des traditions qui leur étaient propres.

De cette participation, on peut distinguer des indices. Telles formes d'architecture, par exemple, les dômes presque hémisphériques (*Fig. 23*), en forme de bulbe (*Fig. 24*), ou bien la forme de l'architrave, décorant les οἴκοι de la composition centrale (*Fig. 25*) avec son arc en plein cintre tendraient à mettre les mosaïques de Damas au compte d'une activité artis-



FIG. 23—DÔME PRESQUE HÉMIS-
PHÉRIQUE

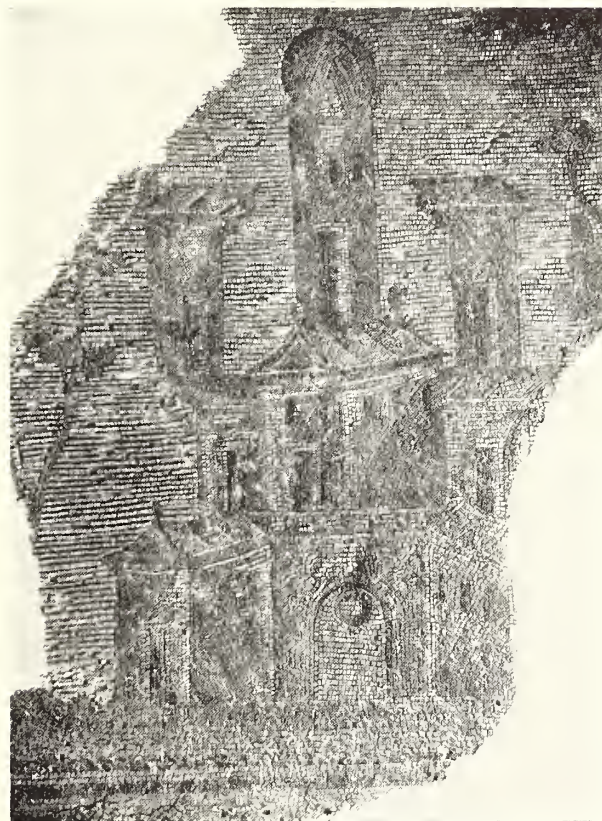


FIG. 24—DÔME EN FORME DE BULBE

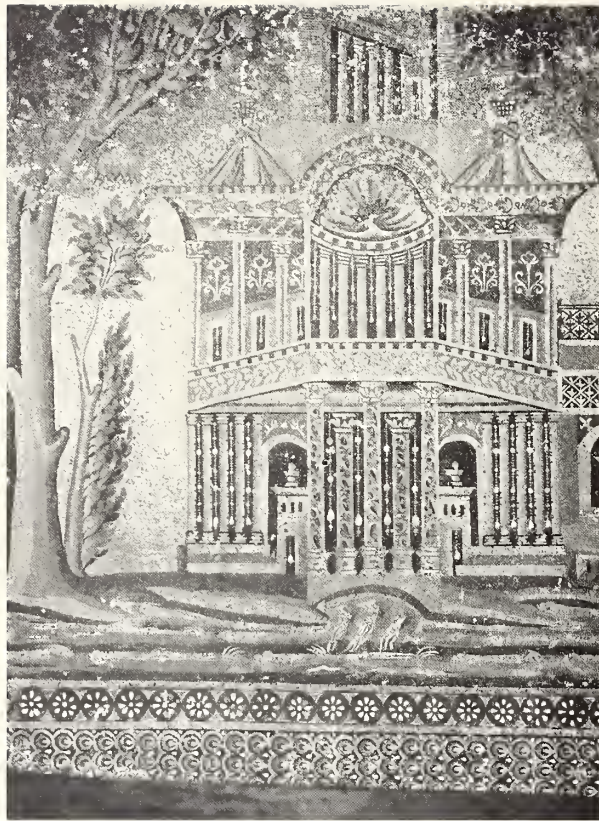


FIG. 25—MOSAÏQUE DE LA MOSQUÉE DES OMAIYADES:
OIKOS



FIG. 26—PATÈNE DE RĪHĀ, COLLECTION ROBERT WOOD BLISS

tique indigène. N'est-il pas remarquable, d'autre part, que la flore qui joue un tel rôle dans la décoration soit celle même qu'une observation directe pouvait suggérer? Cyprès, noyers, figuiers, amandiers, poiriers, pommiers semblent empruntés aux jardins d'Antioche et à l'oasis de Damas par des artistes accoutumés aux thèmes décoratifs qu'avait inspirés de longue date une nature familière.

Il n'est pas jusqu'à certains détails qui ne rappellent curieusement la vie raffinée d'Antioche; les historiens rapportent, comme un fait digne de mémoire, que la ville était la nuit éclairée de lumières qui imitaient l'éclat du jour; peut-être était-ce à l'aide de torchères analogues à celles qu'on aperçoit sous l'arcade de l'οἶκος, reproduit ici. On retrouve un édicule semblable sur la patène d'argent de Rîhā (*Fig. 26*).¹ Placé à la partie supérieure d'une architrave schématiquement figurée, il est destiné à éclairer la dernière cène. Le plat—et c'est là un fait caractéristique—est attribué aux ateliers d'orfèvrerie d'Antioche.

Ainsi, par leur origine même, les mosaïques de Damas peuvent être rattachées à ces traditions d'art syrien dont l'importance, la fécondité, le caractère original sont attestés dans cet ensemble d'œuvres qui va des peintures sidoniennes de Kafr-Djarra ou de Bamiya au décor de Mshatta, en passant par les fresques de Palmyre et celles de Doura-Europos. Et cette participation explique qu'aux influences antiques, pourtant si accusées, d'autres se soient jointes, leur composant un caractère qui n'est plus celui d'une œuvre classique, ni même hellénistique et qui n'est point seulement oriental. Un style s'y fait jour, à la fois très concret et rythmique.

Cette même conjonction est sensible, nous l'avons vu dans les compositions de Sāmarrā où se mêlent et se confondent la part de l'hellénisme et l'apport de l'Orient, représenté par l'élément sassanide et mésopotamien. On peut dire, en simplifiant le problème, que l'art arabe naît en partie du croisement de ces deux influences, réduites à l'unité par la présence d'un même esprit, celui du génie musulman. Mais, à Damas, c'est par la Syrie que l'Orient affirme sa présence. C'est à son art, à ses traditions, que l'Islam eut peut-être emprunté ses principaux modèles, si la chute des Omayyades ne lui avait retiré sa situation privilégiée. Les mosaïques de Damas font pressentir, de la sorte, quel développement aurait pu recevoir l'art islamique, si, à un certain moment, il n'avait été infléchi et comme capté par les influences persanes et touraniennes.

¹ Collection Robert Wood Bliss.

THE GENESIS OF INDO-MUSLIM CIVILIZATION—SOME ARCHAEO-LOGICAL NOTES

BY HERMANN GOETZ

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PHASES OF INDIAN HISTORY IS THE MUSLIM PERIOD, WHEN the old classical civilization of this country in its late mediaeval aspect changed to the one known to us at the present day. The forces which produced this modern development must be sought, of course, in the new influences brought to India by the repeated Muslim invasions and the great voyages of discovery of the XVth century. The investigation into the progress of this change is very interesting and of general importance as it enables us to understand and appreciate similar processes in the earlier periods of Indian history. For although our knowledge of its development is still inadequate, yet the materials available for its study are rather exuberant compared to those of any other epoch of Indian history. They are so extensive and of such complicated structure that a complete analysis would surpass not only my own powers, but also the compass of these notes. I shall therefore confine myself to three principal questions to which I shall try to find an answer by examining the results of several years' research into the history of the material civilization of the Indo-Muslim period, of its origins and the development of its particular types, as it has come down to us in the shape of original objects and pictorial representations, the latter by far outnumbering the former. Perhaps this material may seem very simple, but it has the advantage that it reflects more clearly the main currents of the civilization of the period than intellectual tradition, which is always hampered and complicated by conscious ideologies. These three questions are: What are the various foreign influences that influenced Hindu civilization in the Muslim period and whence did they come? In what manner did their influence express itself? And what was the real effect of this influence on Indian civilization?

From a Western point of view the most interesting problem seems to be that of European influence. Yet this is a disappointment. Of course there is quite a number of very interesting traces of this influence, as for instance that of European art on the mural and miniature painting as practiced under the patronage of the Mughal emperors, especially Akbar and Djahāngīr, who adorned their audience halls with representations of the Madonna, Christ, and the saints of the Catholic church which were copied from Dutch engravings. But this was only a caprice indulged in under the influence of Jesuit missionaries and Portuguese, Dutch or English embassies, and it is the same with most of those other objects which were introduced or came in more general use before the ascendancy of British rule. There was, for instance, in the early Mughal period a type of Portuguese hat, and later on watches, spectacles, mirrors, crystal glasses, lamps, throne-chairs, Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer work. All these things were fancy goods, with the single exception of the fire-arms. Certainly European commerce in these times did not penetrate very far inland and it had very little to offer to the native population, the more so as this was not wealthy

enough to buy imported articles. The Muḥammadan aristocracy, too, stood hardly in need of foreign goods. On the other hand all the accounts of this period mention the general interest in the above mentioned "toys for grown up people". It was only the introduction of fire-arms that met an urgently felt need. When the Portuguese invaded the Indian seas and took over the lucrative spice-trade, Malabar and Guḍjarāt were forced to learn the fabrication and the use of match-locks and guns from their commercial partners in the West, the 'Oṭhmānlīs (Rūmīs), the Egyptians and the Venetians. In Hindūstān fire-arms are met with first in the reign of the Emperor Humāyūn, cast and served by 'Oṭhmānlī Turcs who had been shipwrecked in Guḍjarāt and had then entered the service of the Mughals or other Indian princes. In the XVIIth century they were replaced by European adventurers, then the perhaps best paid mercenaries of the Mughal army.

This is not the only instance in which European influence is combined with that of the Muḥammadan peoples coming across the ocean; Turcs from Baṣra and Suez, and Persians from Hormuz. Imitations of Chinese porcelain were brought from Persia, and also the form of a number of thrones then in use betrays a considerable influence from that country. The same applies to spectacles and mirrors. Here and there in the Dakhan we find traces of the imitation of 'Oṭhmānlī models in the contemporary architecture, and the costume of the 'Ulamā was modelled upon that of the orthodox men of Stambul during the whole XVIIth century.

Of far greater importance is the direct influence of Persia via the land route of Ḳandahār and Kābul. What Stambul was to the orthodox clergy, the Persian court was to Mughal aristocracy. Iṣfahān, admired and envied at the same time, was their model of elegant taste. As early as the XVIth century Humāyūn had spent his years of exile at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and on his return he had brought with him not only Persian manners, but also well-known artists among his followers. Since this time a continuous stream of Persian emigrants came to the Mughal court, where they attained great power by their cultivated manners and cleverness. Yet a distinctive Persian influence can only be said to exist in the XVIIth century, since the reign of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, especially during the times of the Emperor Ḍjahāngīr, that showed itself in Persian ('Abbāsī) dress, Persian portfolios, brocades, various small objects, in certain types of tapestry and carpets, but most of all in figural representations, in furniture made of small planks, plants, enamelled tiles, also in the designs of rectangular gardens arranged in geometrical patterns, and in the *Irānī Ḳalam* of painting. It may be said that from the years in which Ḍjahāngīr was recognized as crown prince up to the reign of Awrangzīb there existed a regular Persian party among the Mughal grandees which included the families of some of the most powerful empresses. Yet, though this group attained the zenith of its power at the court of Shāh Ḍjahān, since this time the influence of Persian civilization declined rapidly. Manners and tastes in both countries had already found their definitive form considerably differing from each other: Persian life had become adventurous and extravagant, Indian manners on the other hand had developed into distinguished reserve and exclusive refinement. Therefore, Mughal court

life became the more imprinted with the stamp of Hindu and Dakhanī-Moslem civilization. It was only in the days of Akbar II, viz. the beginning of the XIXth century, that late Persian dress, sculpture and painting were for a short time imitated in India. As a separate factor of civilization, therefore, Persian influence has been of almost as little importance as that of Turkey or Europe. But it strengthened that of Central Asia, of the civilization of the late Tīmūrid kingdoms, especially of Herāt in the times of Ḥusain Bāikarā, where the civilization of the early Ṣafawid Empire also had its origin.

And it is here, in Turkeṣtān, that we meet with the only real source of far reaching influence on Indian civilization of this period, transmitted by succeeding waves of conquerors and kept alive by a never ceasing stream of emigrants. Here is a continuity older than the Islamic epoch, based upon the strata of earlier Irano-Turkish immigrations. But the vestiges of this cultural deposit which we can still distinguish in the traditions of provincial life, lower castes and religious orders, have undergone so many alterations that at present we are unable to discern with certainty all these ancient foreign elements and their creators. The government of the Delhī Sultāns, since the Mamlūk dynasty has however left more lasting traces. These are the Hindu dress of the Mughal Period, especially the Pagrī-turban, the common armour and weapons, certain types of tents, lamps with heavy pedestals, censers of ancient Eastern Seldjūḳ type. Yet only at the close of the Pathān period we are able to perceive with some degree of clarity the distinguishing traits of Indo-Muslim civilization. It is the classical Tīmūrid civilization that we find at the courts of the Muḥammadan princes of India, in the South however modified to a certain extent by earlier Hindu traditions. The invasion of the Mughals has served only to enrich it by the bizarre forms of late Tīmūrid civilization in Turkeṣtān. The influence of the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia likewise only strengthened this development, as Persian civilization of these times was only another offshoot of Tīmūrid civilization, on the verge of freeing itself from the Turkeṣtānī model. It was in the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās the Great that Persia, perhaps influenced by Turkey, for the first time went its own way which came to be felt in India under Emperor Djāhāngīr.

It thus seems evident that modern Indian civilization must have originated from the addition of these Tīmūrid Central Asian cultural elements to the older Indian ones, but this is not the case. For this very reason the whole question is of such paramount importance because it allows us to follow fairly closely the progress of a more or less complicated process of this kind. First we see indeed that the cultural life of the higher classes is greatly modified by the use of articles and the imitation of the manners of Eastern Turkeṣtān. Soon, however a reaction sets in which usually is explained by the pro-Hindu inclinations of the emperor Akbar, but which must have other deep-going reasons. For in India all the conditions of mentality, climate and economics were quite different from those in Turkeṣtān. In the turbulent times of the late Tīmūrid petty kingdoms civilization in Turkeṣtān had developed a peculiar overloaded and bizarre aspect, to be compared approximately to that of the European Middle Ages during the Burgundian ascendancy. In the new imposing environment of a gigantic empire with immense resources and plans, like that of Akbar, tendency

towards bizarre fancy abated and finally disappeared; simple forms and manners again came to the fore; either the acclimatised simple Tīmūrid-Pathān types were revived or similar types of purely Indian origin were taken over. The necessities of climate further hastened the decline of the Turkistānī tradition. The late Tīmūrid dress was not very suitable for the hot and often humid climate of the new country, so that only those parts of it could be preserved which in Pathān times too had been accepted for Indian conditions of life. Other particular articles of dress were reserved for special classes of people like clergymen, scholars, masters of ceremonies, for the "cold" seasons, for weddings, etc., etc. Women even took over purely Hindu articles of dress. With the change of stuffs and cloths hitherto used, especially splendid heavy brocades disappeared and were replaced by Indian stuffs of lighter texture. Carpets, too, lost their importance as people did not sit on the ground so often. The forms of the tents and houses were modified so as to protect their occupants not so much from the cold but from the heat; coalpans were not used any more, lamps lost their wind screens, etc., etc. Furthermore the necessity of using other materials made itself felt: architecture turned from building with sun-dried bricks and wood, covered with enamelled tiles, to hewn stone as new material, furniture made of sawn planks was supplanted by that made of rods and strap-plaiting. All this necessitated a return to the different native forms of technique.

Another reason for this development was the small number of Turkish and Persian artists in India who, as we know from the historical writings of this period, especially the Akbar Nāme, were forced to seek the assistance of native workmen in order to enable them to execute the large orders of the Mughal emperors. Of course these latter sought to adapt as far as possible their wonted technique and their personal tastes to the new demands. They could do this without great difficulty, as many elements of Indian civilization go back to the same source as those of Central Asia or the Near East, viz. the Ancient Orient, and as, moreover, many elements of Central Asian civilization are only offshoots of ancient Buddhist tradition.

The genesis of Indo-Muslim civilization, therefore, can hardly be explained as a simple intermingling of two different civilizations. It was rather a substitution of Indian elements of similar type for the original dominating ones of Turkish-Muslim origin, these first being selected from the stock of indigenous culture without regard to the Indian tradition; or, in other words, an Indian imitation or even falsification of Tīmūrid models. In the beginning this selection of similar, but not identical elements was very unbalanced, a jumble of types that did not fit together. But then a whole new development sets in. As the new style in life and art evolved distinct forms of its own, the elements which could be worked into its organism became more vigorous whereas all those that were as yet unassimilated and could not be assimilated on account of their great number and yet sporadic occurrence, disappeared from the life of the ruling classes. And the more the new civilization spread over the whole of the empire, the more the remaining traits of this kind disappeared also from provincial usage.

At the Mughal court this phase was attained during the last years of Akbar and the first years of Djahāngīr. Under Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb the new imperial civilization had already spread over all the Mughal dominions, so that another great part of ancient Indian tradition became doomed to ruin. In the following century this imperial civilization grew on its own lines of organic evolution, scarcely touched by later foreign influences. The essential features of this evolution were a gradual depreciation of all forms which more and more lost their original meaning and an increasing decadence and effeminacy of the style of life. Living forms become degraded to clichés and mere ornamental designs, but then are used as elements for the creation of new more complicated forms. In former times for instance niches were let only in small numbers into the walls, but for actual use as cupboards; now they become a mere wall decoration. In the XVIth century the small chattrī-pavillons really served for recreation in the open air, now they form only part of an ornamental lintel in front of the roof. So all the architectural forms lose their constructive function and become overladen with scroll work and flourishes. And articles of daily use, too, undergo the same change, manners of every day life alter in the same way. The lively colours of dresses, buildings, and objects of daily use in the times of Humāyūn, Akbar and Djahāngīr were superseded by white museline, stucco, marble and silverwork. And thus begins the last stage in the Indianization of Mughal civilization. The mentality of this dreamy, bizarre, effeminate society of the late XVIIIth and early XIXth century is only too nearly akin to the Indian one. The forms and types that originated from the constructive tendencies of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, as well as the foreign elements of this period, are now arbitrarily altered: cupolas become gigantic lotus buds, capitals and consoles are turned into flowers, lintels into friezes adorned with leaves, the forms of furniture and other objects are broken up into shapeless masses of floral ornament, even men themselves become unrecognizable through excess of finery, jewels and make up. Architecture and painting as well as literature, until now so realistic and prosaic, abandon themselves to moods and sentiments, develop the Indian *rasa*.

Life and civilization have become Indian, very Indian, and almost nothing of the foreign elements which had been introduced during the Pathān and early Mughal epoch, has survived. Nevertheless all this is not in the least a direct evolution neither of ancient Indian, nor of Central Asian civilization. Yet without these foreign influences this complete change in Indian civilization would have been quite impossible. They did not form another new layer over the civilization as it existed up to that time in India. They influenced the latter by inundating and devastating it, yet without developing themselves sufficient vitality in their new home. They therefore were themselves gradually superseded by congenial "remainders" of the former tradition, in another shape, with other functions. On this regenerated basis, unhampered by any traditions, the new evolution begins which alienates itself farther from the original model of Eastern Turko-Persian taste, and turns instead more and more towards Indian conceptions. Indo-Muslim civilization therefore is genuinely Indian, built up from purely Indian elements, yet not based upon ancient Indian, but on a wholly indianized Turko-Muḥammadan tradition.

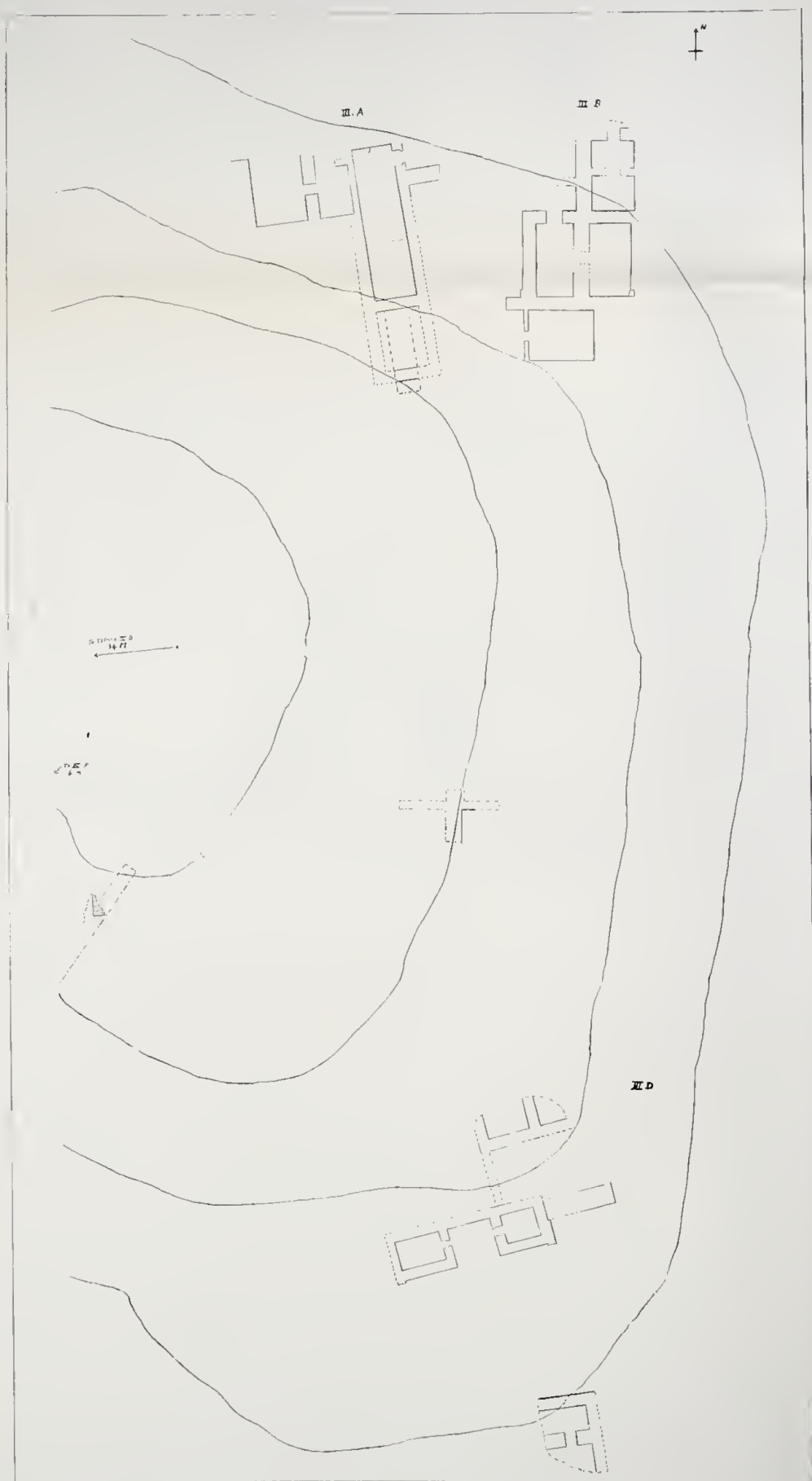


FIG. 4—Hira, PLAN OF MOUND III

----- RESTORATION

----- LIMIT OF EXCAVATIONS

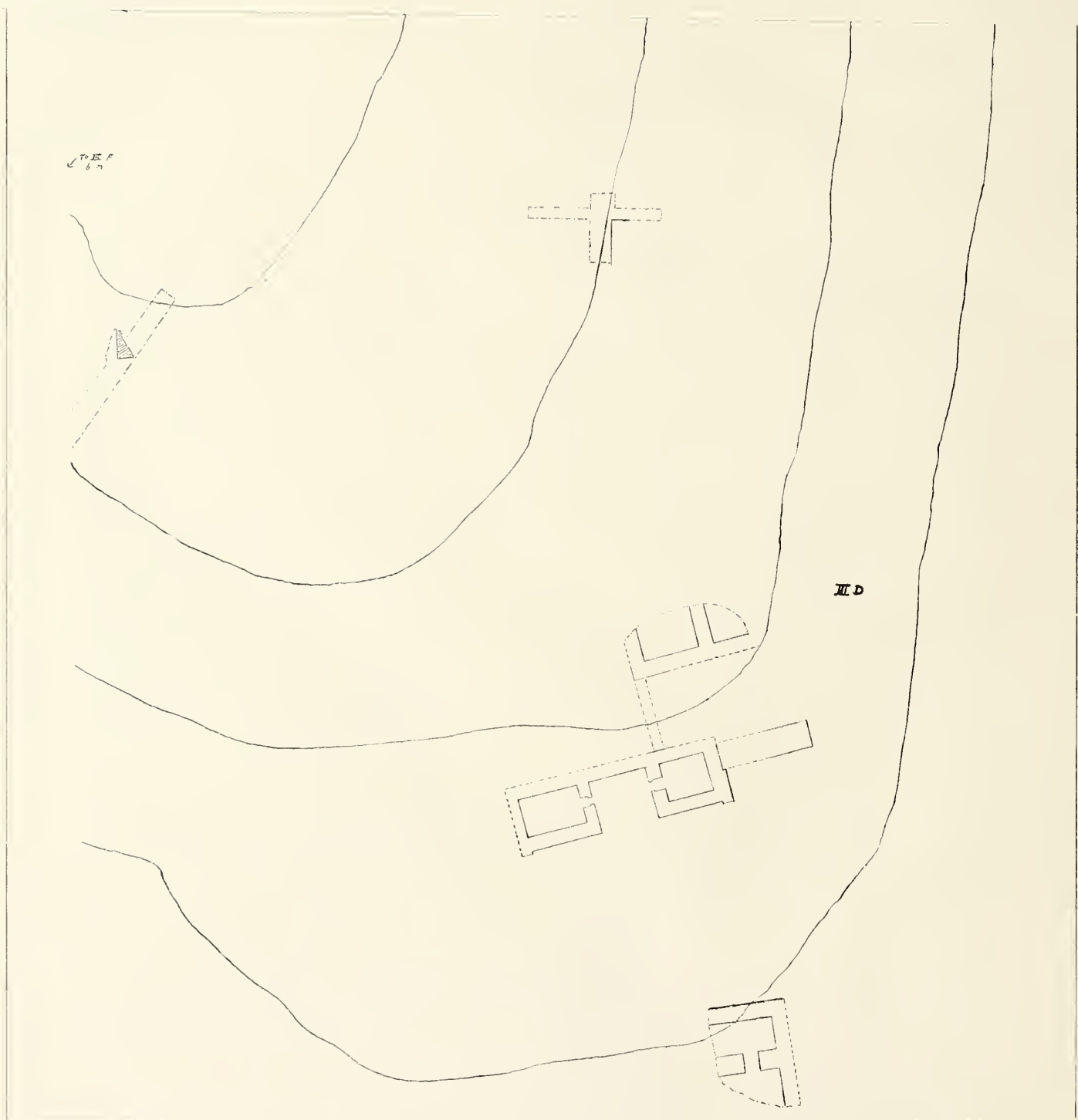


FIG. 4—HĪRA, PLAN OF MOUND III

----- RESTORATION

----- LIMIT OF EXCAVATIONS

THE OXFORD EXCAVATIONS AT ḤĪRA

BY D. TALBOT RICE

PRELIMINARY NOTICES OF THE WORK UNDERTAKEN AT ḤĪRA IN 'IRĀQ BY AN OXFORD EXPEDITION, financed by Mr. Gerald Reitlinger in the autumn of 1931, have already appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, and in *Antiquity*.¹ We do not propose to recapitulate here what has already been said in those articles, but a brief general survey of the work may perhaps be given before we pass on to a more detailed study of certain results, most notably with regard to the plaster work, the pottery and other minor finds.

The excavations were essentially of a preliminary character, and trial trenches were driven into as many as twelve different mounds; in three of these whole buildings were cleared and planned; in the others only individual walls were examined, primarily with a view to discovering what nature of construction each mound contained and what were their approximate ages. Work was begun at the north-east corner of the city, where the mounds of ḤĪra approached closest to those of Kūfa, though they are separated from the latter by a wide expanse of open country which can never have been inhabited; it is even described by the Arab historian al-Balādhurī as the region between ḤĪra and Kūfa, known as al-Miṭāt.²

The excavations proved that this corner of the city was the most recent in date and it appears that ḤĪra, being on rising ground, gradually moved its position in an easterly direction and did not create for itself a considerable hill by continual rebuilding on the same spot, as did many of the older cities of Mesopotamia. The mounds are hence small but numerous, and contain one or at the most two, layers of habitation. Between them the natural surface level is only very slightly below the present surface, and pits which we sank at intervals showed that there are no remains at any considerable depth.

The disposition of the mounds which we were able to examine is indicated on the sketch map (*Fig. 1*), but it may here be stressed that many more mounds than are marked on the plan remain untouched, both near those already examined, and also some considerable distance away to south and east; it is in all probability in this direction that the oldest part of ḤĪra lies. The open nature of the city is attested by the historian al-Balādhurī, who quotes regarding the conquest of the city that the invaders rode round on horseback in the open spaces among the buildings.³

The numbered mounds may be described in order.

I. This mound—one of the highest on the site—was completely excavated. It contained a large two storied building, with central court, intended as a fortress, large house or even

¹ The former vol. XIX, April, 1932, p. 254; the latter vol. VI, Sept., 1932, p. 276.

² Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*. Translated

and edited by P. K. Hitti, as *The Origins of the Islamic State*, Columbia University, 1915. Vol. I, p. 437.

³ P. K. Hitti, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 391.

perhaps a small palace (*Fig. 2*). The principal rooms were on the upper floor—those below, which were never more than cellars, being without doors or windows, had been filled in before the last period of occupation. Some large water pots and numerous fragments of barbotino ware were found in the filling. The building had in fact been restored and reoccupied at three separate occasions, the first of them probably being well within the Sasanian period, though the last was terminated only somewhere about the end of the eighth century, as proved by numismatic and other archaeological evidence.⁴ The actual construction has already been dealt with in certain detail in *Antiquity*, (vol. VI, p. 284), but it may be noted in addition that the arrangement of the rooms round the central court in a series of “*bait*s” follows the Persian rather than the Syrian system, though we see at Ḥīra a considerable advance on such early Iranian examples as Fīrūzābād, Sarvistān or Kašr-i-Shīrīn. The system is in fact as far developed as in definitely ‘Abbāsīd work in the Palace of Ukhaiḍir, with which it shows close affinities.⁵ Portions of a number of door jambs of carved stucco survived, either in situ (*Fig. 3*) or in fragments, on the floors. These belonged without question to the last occupation of the building, and there can be little doubt as to their eighth century date. They are thus among the earliest pieces of Islamic stucco work that are known. They will be discussed in greater detail below.

Our conclusions as to the history and date of this building may be thus tabulated in brief.

Outer wall, baked bricks, red in colour, each 26 x 26 x 4 cm. Sasanian period.

Walls of inner building, mud bricks, each 35 x 35 x 7 cm. Early Islamic, under direct Sasanian influence.

Repairs to the walls in yellow baked bricks, 18 x 18 x 4 cm., and a filling between the outer walls of mud bricks 27 x 27 x 11 cm.; the stucco door jambs, some large water-pots which were buried beneath the floor and other minor finds, are all to be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.⁶

II. Two trenches were run into this mound and a third was dug between it and mound I (*see Fig. 1*). The two former disclosed a conglomeration of walls of mud brick, which belonged presumably to small, unimportant houses. It later disclosed near the centre of the mound a well, which when emptied proved to contain a large number of fragments of small unglazed water pots with engraved decoration of a typically Mesopotamian character. They

⁴ Coins found in the filling comprise one of the Bašra dated 152 A.H., one of Kūfa dated 167 A.H., two of Baghdad dated 157 A.H. and about twenty unidentifiable ones of the second century A.H. I am indebted to Mr. Allan of the British Museum for the identification of the coins and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks for his help.

⁵ For a distinction between the Persian and Syrian “*bait*s” and for plans of the buildings mentioned above see Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, p. 386. Ḥīra was probably important as a centre of development for

early Islamic architecture, and Ya'kūbī records that Mutawekkīl built at Sāmarrā a palace with two wings, a tower and three gates after the style of the houses at Ḥīra. It then became fashionable to imitate his palace, and houses of this sort were called Ḥīriya. See Adam Mez, *Renaissance der Islam*, 1922, p. 360.

⁶ The historian al-Balādhurī notes three detached castles, Kašr al-Abyād, Kašr ibn-Bukhail, and Kašr al-'Adasiyīn. The last of these was at the extremity of the city, and it may well be this with which we are dealing. See P. K. Hitti, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 391 and 444.

would seem to belong to the eighth century. At the edge of the mound, and between it and No. I some fragments of painted plaster and of carved stucco of a different character from that found in other mounds, were unearthed at a depth of about 1.5 metres below the surface. Both the painting and the carving are of a distinctly Sasanian character, and it would appear that we have here to do with debris thrown out of building I when it was restored in the eighth century, if not at an even earlier date. It is much to be regretted that the painted plaster was in so fragmentary a state.

III. This, together with No. IV, forms what is virtually a large single mound, with two independent summits. A number of trial trenches were dug, as shown in Fig. 4. The mound appears to contain a number of houses, some of which are undoubtedly of importance. Their detailed excavation would probably be well repaid, since burnt as well as mud brick was used in their construction. Houses to the north of the mound (III, A) were small, but some of them were doubtless adorned with plaster work. A few fragments of such decoration were recovered from similar houses to the south (III, D) and the fragments of a fine glazed water pot were also unearthed here (*see Fig. 23*). Coins from these houses belong to the eighth century.⁷ It will be noted that the "*bait*" disposition is maintained, especially in the small house, III D.

IV. The central portion of the mound was not touched, but some small houses, the floors of which were only about three quarters of a metre below the surface, were excavated to the north of the mound. They contained fine plaster work akin to that from building I. The "*bait*" division was here again retained, though on a small and unelaborate scale. Coins from the filling belong to the eighth century, most notably one dated to 145 A.H. Practically no pottery came from these houses.

V. The greater part of this mound was occupied by a large church of rectangular plan, orientated towards the south-east (*Fig. 5*). The plan is exactly paralleled by that of a second church at Hīra (mound XI) and also by one excavated by the German expedition at Ctesiphon in 1928-29.⁸ All of them have three chapels or chambers at the south-eastern end, separated from the main body of the edifice, which is of rectangular plan, by massive piers. The walls of the church in mound V were of mud, decorated on the inside with white lime-plaster; the floor of the main body of the church and of the side chambers was of burnt bricks set diagonally. Each measured 26 x 26 x 5 cm. The floor of the central apse was of similar bricks, but below it were plaster floors, since it had been raised at two successive periods. The walls of the central chamber at the southeast end were decorated with wall paintings; those of the two side chambers and of the main hall of the church were bare.

Paintings of two periods survived, unfortunately in a very fragmentary state. Those of the upper layer were of a definitely Christian character, several fragments bearing crosses or portions of crosses appearing. The colours were bright and striking, being very reminiscent

⁷ Most important among them is one with the name of governor Ishāk, Kūfa, 163 A.H.

⁸ O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition*, 1928-29, p. 11, Abb. 5.



FIG. 3—HĪRA, STUCCO DOOR JAMBS, BUILDING I, VIII CENTURY

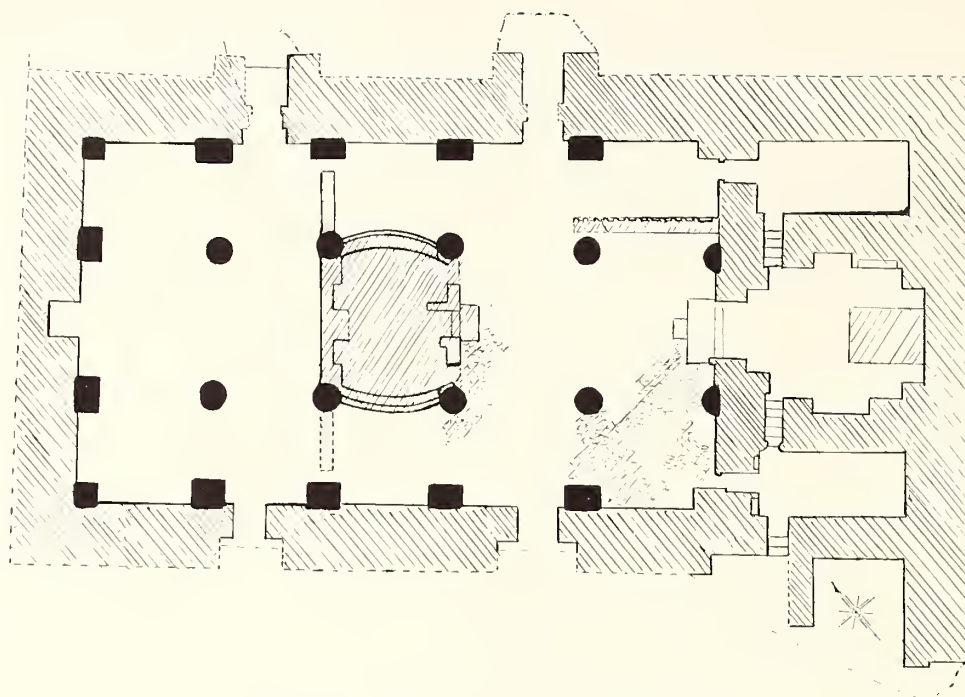


FIG. 6—HĪRA, PLAN OF CHURCH, MOUND XI

----- RESTORATION



FIG. 7—HĪRA, SOUTH EASTERN CHAPEL OF CHURCH, MOUND XI, VII CENTURY

of those of the paintings of Sāmarrā. Paintings of the lower layer were more Sasanian in character, both in appearance and in style; one portion on the end wall bore a small bird and a pattern of circles of essentially Sasanian appearance, and another a decorative pattern of floral character, in rather sombre colours. There is every reason to suppose that these paintings and with them the church, are to be assigned to the seventh century, while the upper layer and certain repairs and alterations which the edifice had undergone, most notably a replastering of the walls, are to be dated to the early eighth century. That it was still in use in the Islamic period is proved by some fragments of inscriptions in kufic roughly scratched on the walls; other rough scratchings portrayed crosses.

No coins or pottery appeared, but a number of fragments of delicate plaster work, bearing crosses and similar devices, which must have served a devotional purpose, similar to that of icons in the Orthodox church.

Close to mound V some rooms of simple rectangular plan, with walls of mud brick, were excavated, on the site marked V E, while other walls, which probably belonged to buildings connected with the church, were unearthed to the south.

VI. Our resources only permitted the digging of two trial trenches at the very edge of the mound. They failed to disclose more than a large quantity of burnt brick rubble. The mound is a large one and probably contains an edifice of importance, akin perhaps to that in mound I.

VII. This small circular mound presumably contained a kiln for brick manufacture or lime burning, as it was composed almost entirely of ashes. Close by eight storage pots of coarse, unglazed ware, were set seven in a row with one at the side, with their mouths to the ground. Little pottery and few coins were found and the mound proved of slight importance. It may have grown up at a later date as the result of the lime burning, material being taken from the large and important mound VI.

VIII, IX and X. These mounds contained no construction of importance in the upper levels; there appear to have been here only poor huts, of several different periods, though there may be more important ruins at greater depth. Pottery fragments were rare, but coins were numerous, though they were all in such a poor and corroded state that none of their inscriptions could be read.

XI. This mound, of considerable dimensions, was excavated on its north side only. A church of plan practically identical with that of mound V was completely disclosed (*Fig. 6*), though a complex of rooms on its southern side, which were apparently connected with it, could not be examined. The roof of the church was originally supported on burnt brick arches standing on brick piers, which divided the main area into a three aisled edifice; pilaster strips supplemented the support of the side walls at the springing of each arch. The floor was paved with burnt bricks, each 20 x 20 x 4 cm., set diagonally. At the centre of the main area was a raised platform of mud brick, covered with plaster, reached by two steps. Seats were arranged on either side in a half-moon. It probably served a purpose akin to

that of the schola cantorum in the west.⁹ As already noted, the plan of this church, of that at mound V and of that at Ctesiphon are practically identical; certain edifices in Syria, most notably the church at Ḥuṣṣ of the fourth century,¹⁰ are of similar layout, while Coptic churches again show the three rectangular chambers at the east, though each is terminated by a small niche-like apse of semi-circular plan.¹¹ But equally close parallels and more likely prototypes are offered by the temples of Assyria and Babylonia, where we see the same rectangular sanctuaries connected with the main body of the edifice only by the narrowest of doors.¹² Recent excavations at Kish have shown that the semicircular apse was well known to the Sasanians, and it was universal in Syria. The ancient religious edifices of Mesopotamia had avoided it, however, and there can be little doubt but that we see the continuity of this ancient idea in the churches of Ḥīra.

Like the church in mound V, that of mound XI had undergone repairs at various periods, each of them fairly distant one from another. The floor of the central south-eastern chamber had thus been raised and the walls had been replastered as many as four times, five distinct layers of white lime plaster, each of considerable thickness, surviving in places on the mud walls. The central south-eastern chamber was decorated with wall paintings, and a cross actually remained in situ on the wall in the chapel to the south of it (*Fig. 7*). A similar cross which had adorned the central chamber was pieced together from fragments and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. A further fragment bore a portion of what appeared to be a figure in the Orans position. In this church again a number of the delicate plaster "icons" were discovered.

XII and XIII. Large mounds untouched by us. They appear to contain buildings of burnt brick of considerable importance.

STUCCO-WORK.

The stucco wall decoration can be divided into a number of distinct groups, though all of it belongs to the steep-cut (*Tiefendunkel*) as opposed to the slant-cut (*Schrägschnitt*) style. A single fragment, actually found on the surface, would appear to be of Sasanian date. It bears a pine cone and a vine leaf decoration, of very delicate quality, and is to be distinguished at once from the other fragments. Another group is composed of fragments found mostly in the trench between mounds I and II; they belonged to arch-shaped pieces, which must have served to top doorways or wall niches (*Fig. 8*). The work is distinguished by its vertical cut and its general "sharp" quality, as well as by the nature of the ornament, which

⁹ Professor Shapley has suggested to me that it may have been in such a place as this that the "widows" sat. They constituted as far as we know a religious corporation of females, akin, though not identical with, Sisters in the western church.

¹⁰ De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. 65. He thinks that there was originally a semicircular apse, built within the rectangle, but that it has now disappeared. As Syrian shrines are invariably apsed, this seems more likely than

that the chambers were rectangular, as at Ḥīra.

¹¹ Most notably the monastery church of Muharraḡ, Gayet, *L'Art Copte*, fig. p. 158. Deir al-Malāk, *op. cit.*, p. 162, or Deir al-Suryānī, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹² For instance in the Anu-Adad temple at Asshur. See L. Speleers, *Les Arts de l'Asie Antérieure Ancienne*, Bruxelles, 1926, fig. 350, pl. XVI. He gives the plans of various other temples.



FIG. 8—HĪRA, FRAGMENTS OF STUCCO WORK, PROBABLY SASANIAN

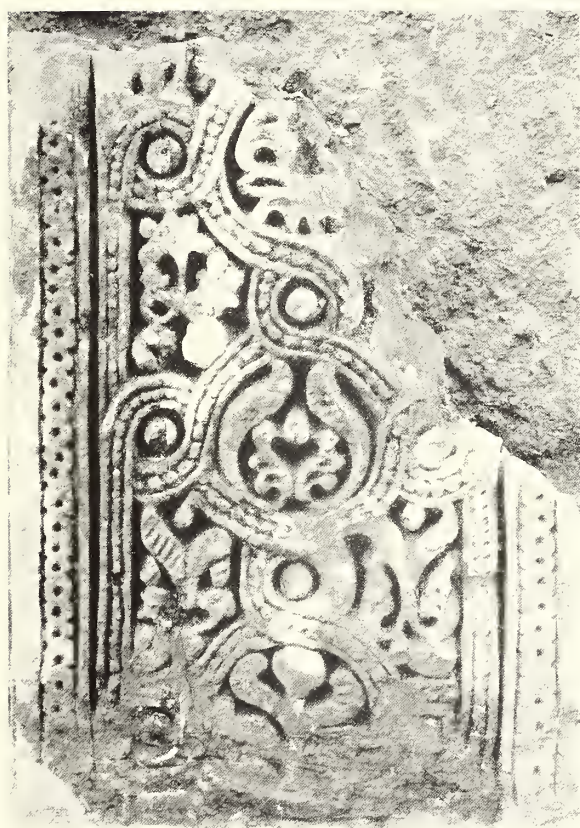


FIG. 9—HĪRA, STUCCO DOOR JAMB, BUILDING I, VIII CENTURY, H. 70 CM. W. 50 CM.



FIG. 10—HĪRA, STUCCO DOOR JAMB, BUILDING IV, VIII CENTURY, H. 60 CM. W. 52 CM.



FIG. 11—HĪRA, STUCCO DOOR JAMB, MOUND IV,
VIII CENTURY, H. 64 CM. W. 41 CM.



FIG. 12—HĪRA, STUCCO DOOR JAMB, BUILDING IV,
VIII CENTURY, H. 60 CM. W. 40 CM.



FIG. 13—HĪRA, STUCCO DOOR JAMB, BUILDING I, VIII CENTURY
H. 60 CM. W. 40 CM.

is invariably of a severe, not of a flowing character. The actual stucco is also whiter, harder and of more stone like quality than that of other groups. The drill is profusely used, the ornament is in general rather stylised; the feeling is in general non-Islamic. It has already been suggested that these fragments were thrown out when building I was restored, and if this is the case they may well be late Sasanian in date. In any case they would appear to belong to the seventh century at the latest. Their early character can be at once discerned by comparing them with stucco of late Sasanian date from Ctesiphon.¹³ Though the work is here more elaborate, the same silhouette effects are sought and achieved in both, the same hard, white stucco is used, and the work has the same sharp quality, quite distinct from the more flowing, leisurely, 'Abbāsid style.

By far the largest group of the stucco work is, however, dated by numismatic and other evidence to the second half of the eighth century A.D., and we see work which is of the same age and type in buildings I, III and IV. A door jamb in situ in building I is shown in Fig. 3; another in the same building appears in Fig. 9, and others from building IV in Figs. 10, 11, and 12. Another example from building I (*Fig. 13*) is well nigh identical with a door jamb from a house of early Islamic date at Ctesiphon.¹⁴ The door jambs are all of similar form, being some 30 cm. in width, with a border representing a plaited band, executed by means of the drill, up the sides. The ornament within the border differs. Thus the panel in Fig. 10 is still rather Sasanian in character; that in Fig. 11 is already transformed to some extent, while that in Fig. 12 is essentially Islamic, having the heavier appearance and more sloping cut which characterises 'Abbāsid work. Yet all of these are of the same date and come from the same house.

In addition to the door jambs fragments of cornices were recovered; a fine one from building IV, reassembled in the Ashmolean Museum, bears vine leaves separated by alternating rosettes and branches of grapes (*Fig. 14*). The drill holes in the vine leaves here follow the usual early Islamic disposition, though on another fragment of a cornice from building I we see them along the axis of the leaf (*Fig. 15*).¹⁵

A few other fragments from building IV do not belong either to the door jamb or the cornice group, being modelled more in the round. These are pilasters (*Fig. 16b*); one is perhaps even portion of a human figure (*Fig. 17*).¹⁶ Another seems to be a corner piece, for use perhaps above a door or window (*Fig. 16a*). The Sasanian style is here retained in a fairly pure degree.

With the exception of the work from an Islamic house at Ctesiphon already mentioned, no very exact parallels to these stuccos have as yet been discovered; certain resemblances may however be noted. The fifth and last triangle at Mshatta is thus related, though the other portions of the decoration of this building show no very close similarities. As Creswell

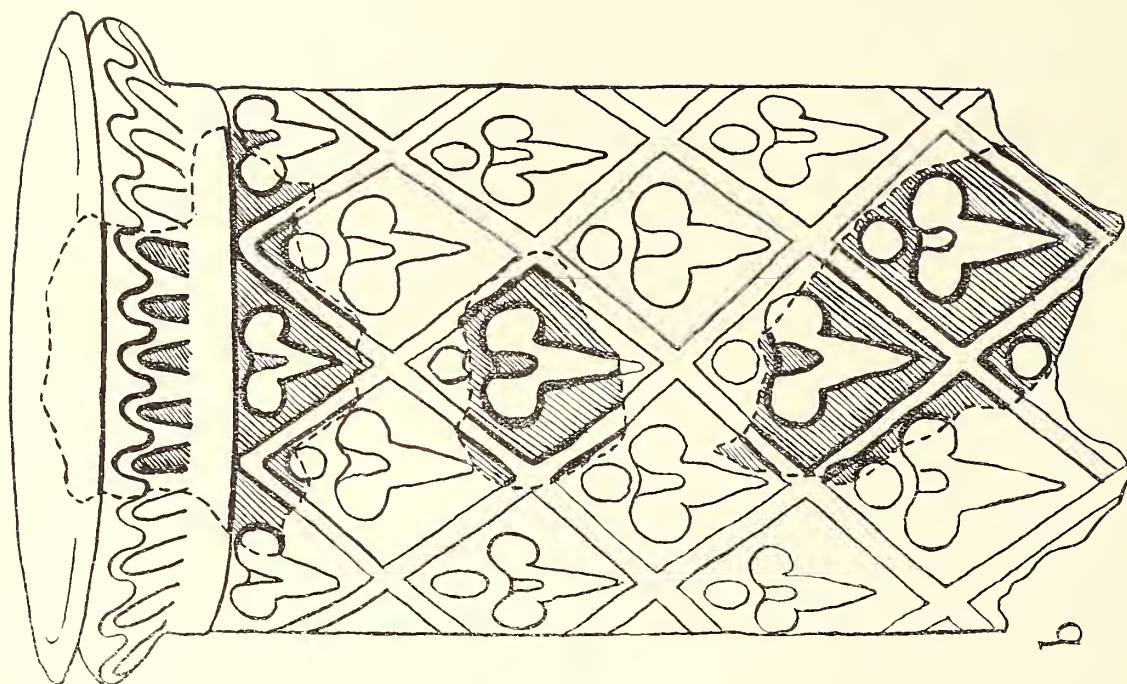
¹³ See Kuehnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition*, 1931-32, Abbs. 17 ff.

¹⁴ Reuther, *op. cit.*, p. 36, Abb. 19.

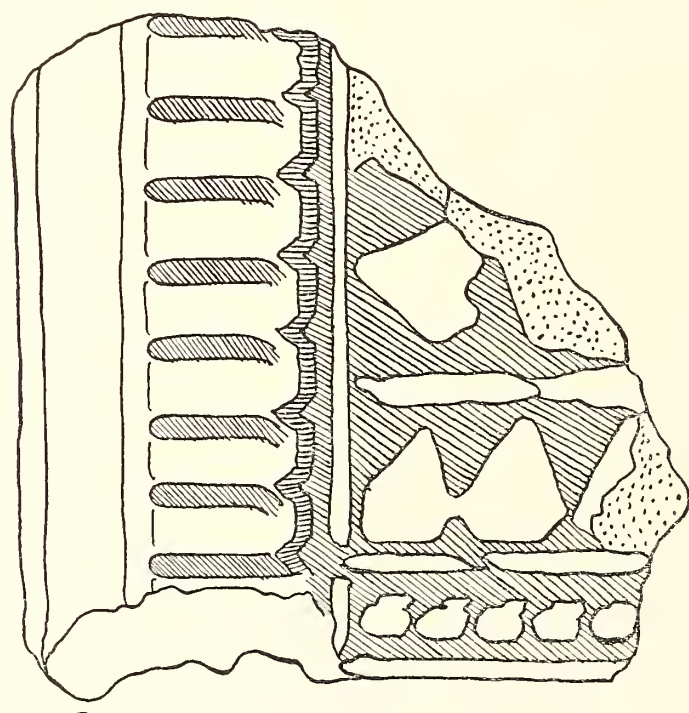
¹⁵ I am indebted to M. S. Flury of Basle for calling

my attention to this difference.

¹⁶ Compare the important stucco statue of painted stucco from the church at Ctesiphon, Reuther, *op. cit.*, p. 13, Abb. 6.



A CORNER PIECE



A PLASTER

FIG. 16—HĪRA, STUCCO WORK, MOUND I



FIG. 14—HĪRA, STUCCO CORNICE, BUILDING IV. VIII CENTURY,
OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

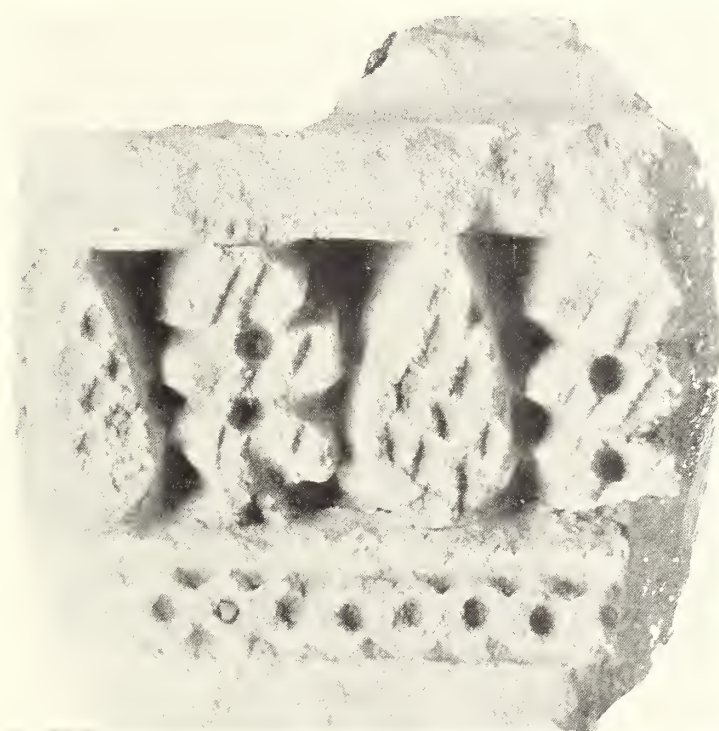


FIG. 15—HĪRA, FRAGMENT OF STUCCO CORNICE, VIII CENTURY
H. 13.4 CM.

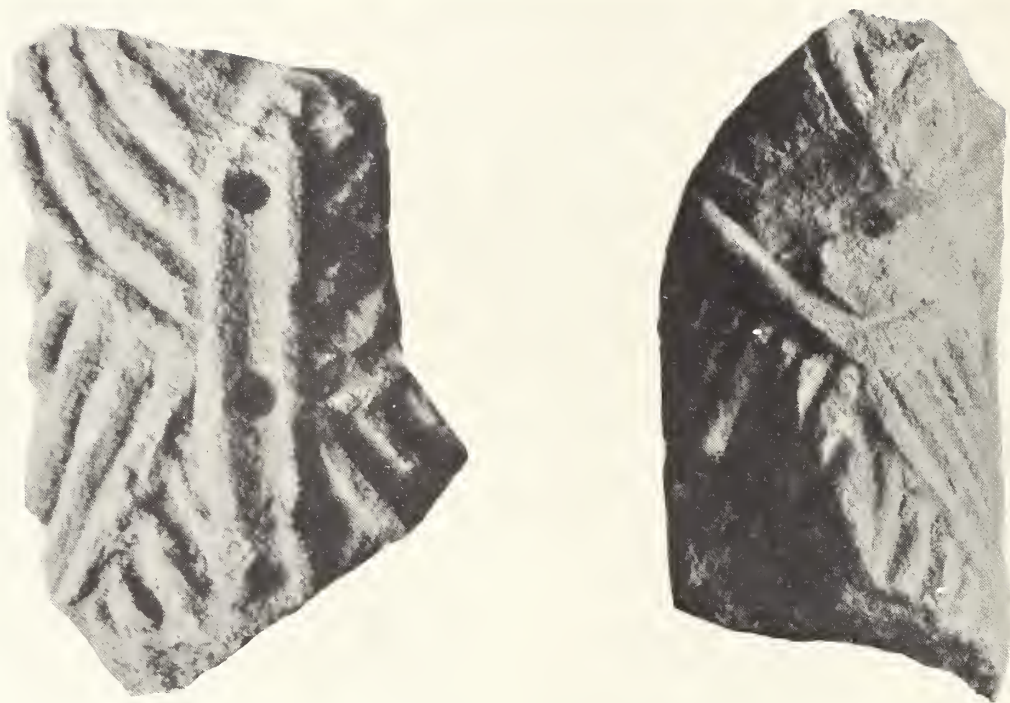


FIG. 17—HĪRA, FRAGMENTS OF STUCCO, PERHAPS STATUES? BUILDING IV
H. C. 35 CM.



FIG. 18—HĪRA, FRAGMENTS OF UNGLAZED POTTERY, VIII AND EARLY IX CENTURIES

points out, we have here to do with work characterized by the absence of animal figures, though they are frequently present in other parts of the decoration of the building.¹⁷ Carvings at ẖaṣr al-Ṭubā and 'Ammān are again only distantly related, and the similarities with Coptic work, more especially with the limestone grave stelae, are at most superficial. Sasanian work as exemplified by that from Kish, Damghān and Ctesiphon,¹⁸ presents a prototype, but no more; the stuccos of Islamic Persia, such as those of Nāyīn, are much further evolved than those of Hīra, while those from Sāmarrā, of about a century later, again belong to a different line of development, though all are of course to a great extent derived from the same originals. More closely comparable are some roundels in a mihrāb in an Imām Zādē in the village of Bezūn, near Iṣfahān. The mihrāb itself is signed by an artist from ẖazwīn and dated 1133-34; the roundels appear to be of a different character from the work above, and may perhaps be earlier in date; if they are contemporary they show an interesting continuity of an early style.¹⁹

Apart from this the Hīra work stands somewhat alone; it shows us an important stage in the development of early Islamic ornament in Mesopotamia and constitutes a key-monument, in that there can be no doubt as to the eighth century date of the work.

A further group of stucco work, represented by a few fragments found close to the outer wall of building I, is characterised by a moulded, not by the usual carved decoration. Fragments bearing vine leaves or occasionally a series of parallel indented bands, are all that occur. They appear to be of the same eighth century date.

THE POTTERY.

Few vessels which were in any stage of completeness survived at Hīra, but large quantities of fragments were excavated in the course of the work. The various types will be discussed briefly, and the provenance of the sherds of each group will be noted. It may be remarked, however, that although there are certain individual peculiarities, the types are in general the same as those which we already know from finds at Susa and Sāmarrā. And though the ornament is occasionally of a very Sasanian type, there are no specimens that can be termed definitely Sasanian in date.

UNGLAZED WARES.

1. *Barbotino ware*. Both the earlier type, where we see rope bands, circular medallions or similar non-representational compositions, firmly attached to the body, and the later, where we find heads or portions of figures fashioned apart and rather lightly fixed on, were found, though evolution in this latter direction had in no case gone very far, and the profuse attaching of very elaborate motives which characterised the ninth century had not been fully

¹⁷ *Early Muslim Architecture*, p. 374. See his Pl. 78.

¹⁸ For the work at Kish see the *Illustrated London News*, 14 Feb. and 7 March, 1931; for that of Damghān see the same paper 26 March 1931. The Kish material will be published in greater detail in the forthcoming

Survey of Persian Art.

¹⁹ Mr. Pope informs me in a letter that he considers the roundels to be contemporary with the rest of the mihrāb. I have to thank him for acquainting me with the Bezūn mihrāb.

arrived at by the makers of the Hīra sherds.²⁰ The gradual change which is to be observed in ornament during the first two centuries of Islam was aptly illustrated by our examples of this group of pottery, practically all of which came from the filling of the lower story of building I. We thus see small, delicate sherds, which are extremely Sasanian in appearance, and larger and coarser ones, which are characteristic of all that we know of eighth century wares (*Fig. 18*). The decoration of the more delicate examples is closely akin to that which we find on the glazed relief pottery, and it illustrates one of the most successful efforts of the Mesopotamian and Persian craftsmen. Affinities with the more formal ornament on a larger scale such as that of 'Ammān and the last triangle at Mshatta are obvious in some of the examples; others are of a more flamboyant nature. Yet the coexistence of the more restrained and the more florid styles at much the same date, which we see in the pottery is paralleled by the varying designs and motives which we see in the contemporary stucco work of Hīra.²¹

Two fragments of a thin cup or bowl (*Fig. 18, middle*) from the well in mound II, are of a rather different type, though probably of the same eighth century date. The inscription round the rim is unfortunately fragmentary.

Three large water jars or "*hubbs*" found intact and two others broken below the floors of the upper chambers of building I show the combination of relief and incised decoration in a rather rough manner (*Fig. 19*). These large pots had apparently been reused as drains, the water soaking out through their porous sides into the surrounding sand. They are to be dated to the eighth century.

2. *Vessels with engraved decoration.* A large number of vessels, mostly single handled jugs, with decoration on the neck and on the upper side of the shoulder only, came from the well in mound II. Prototypes of such large vessels are to be found in Babylonian as well as in Partho-Syrian times,²² but the decoration probably tends to become rather less virile as time proceeds, and a thinner body and rather slighter quality characterise early Islamic examples. Specimens closely akin to those from Hīra appeared at Sāmarrā, and it would seem that the well was in use in the ninth as well as in the eighth century.

In addition to the jugs, which usually have rather elaborate handles with protrusion above, on the top of which a rosette is generally impressed, bowls and beakers also occur. But fragments of jugs were by far the most common.

The decoration is invariably of a geometrical character, though plant forms are at the basis of some of the designs. Two separate groups may be distinguished on the grounds of the design, the one where line drawing only appears and where open spaces are filled by hatching (*Fig. 20*), and the other where small circles, with or without a dot at the centre,

²⁰ For a general discussion of early barbotino ware see Sarre, *Die Keramik im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin, 1921, p. 18 and Pls. VII, VIII and IX. The page references here given are those of the separate edition; the order is the same in the original production, which forms a part of the *Archäologische Reise*.

²¹ The survival of similar Sasanian characteristics is

also sometimes to be seen in figure subjects on the barbotino ware. A fragment in the British Museum bearing a mounted archer among scrolls thus reflects the Sasanian tradition, though it is to be dated as late as the eleventh century. See Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Nearer East*, 1932, p. 32.

²² Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

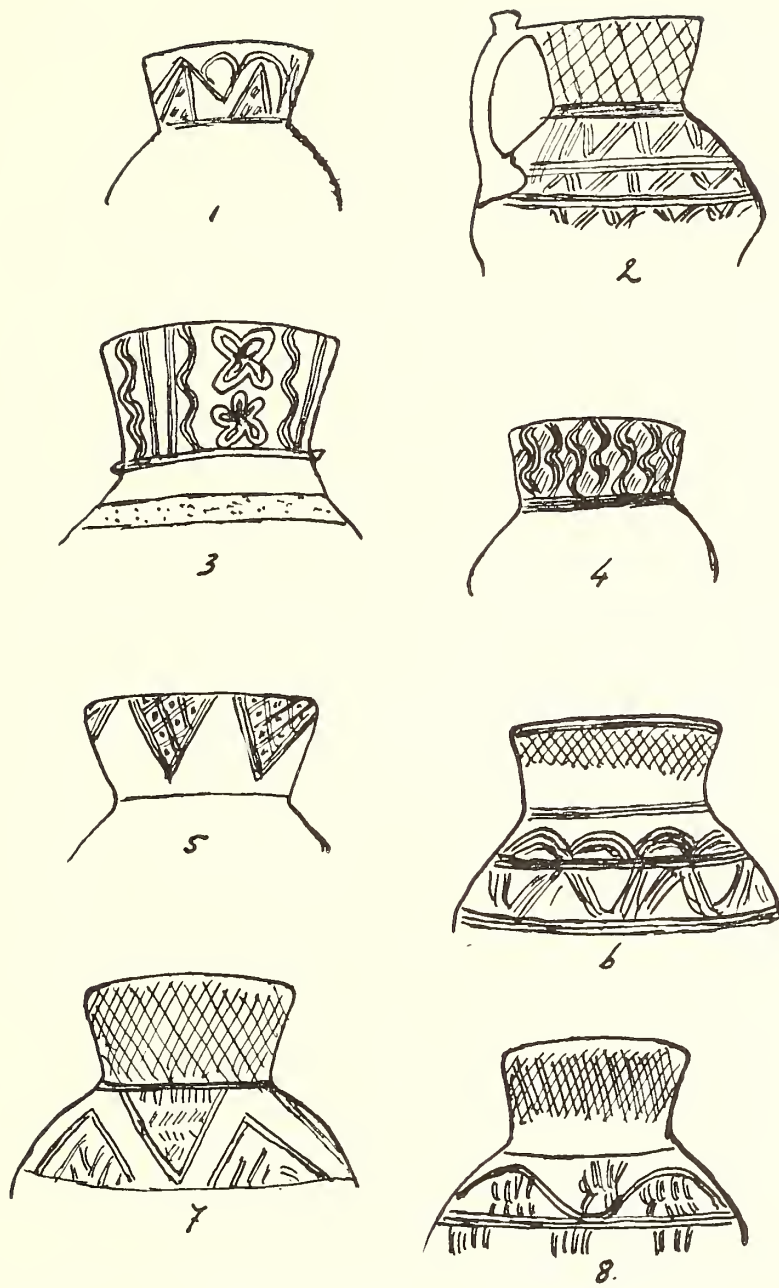


FIG. 20—HĪRA, DESIGNS OF JUGS, GROUP 2A, SPECIMENS FROM WELL, MOUND II
VIII AND IX CENTURIES

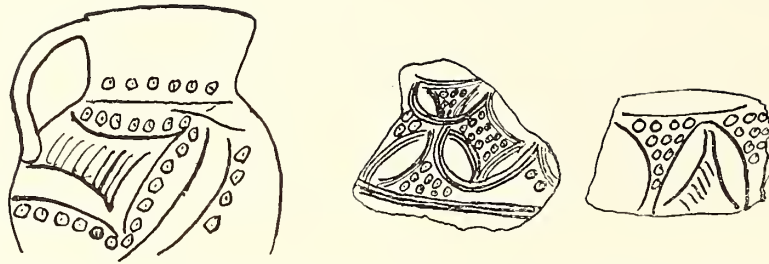


FIG. 21—HĪRA, DESIGNS OF JUGS, GROUP 2B, SPECIMENS FROM WELL MOUND II, VIII AND IX CENTURIES

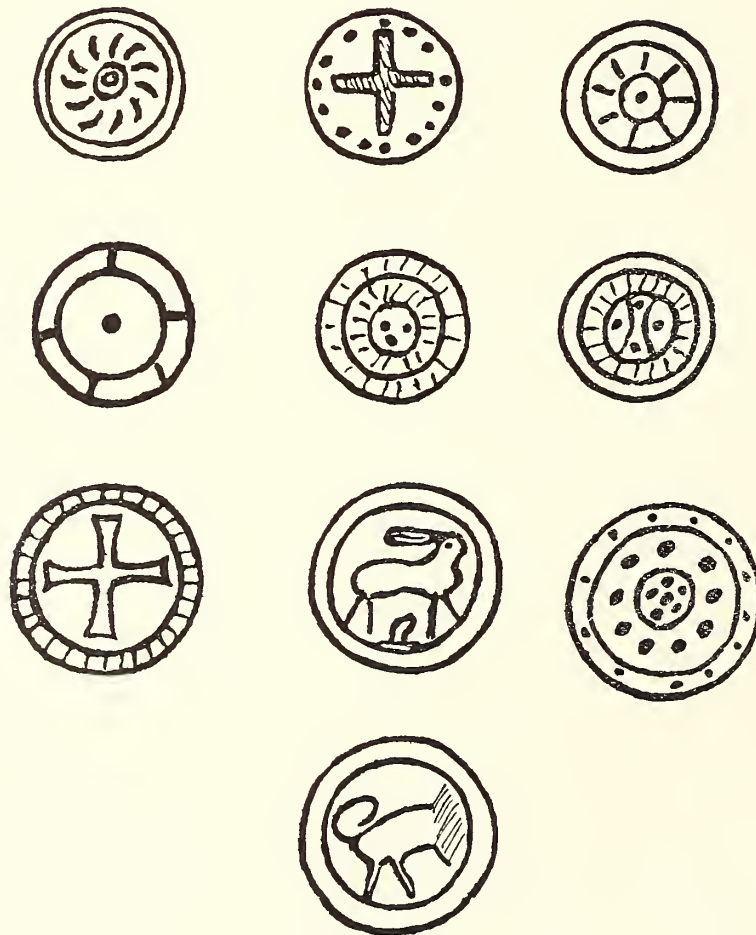


FIG. 22—HĪRA, STAMPS ON POTTERY

occur (*Fig. 21*). But there is no difference in the body, and specimens of both classes are of the same date.

3. *Stamped decoration*. A number of sherds were found on various mounds and at varying levels, on which the ornament consisted of small medallions executed with a stamp. The stamps were probably intended as the mark of potter or owner rather than as a decoration. The principal examples are shown in *Fig. 22*. Some are of undoubted Christian character; others may be Christian, Islamic or Mazdaean; but there are none whose definitely Islamic character is proved by the presence of Arabic script, nor do any of the favourite Sasanian motives, such as the griffin, appear.²³ Similar rosette designs to those which appear as stamps occur on the tops of the handles of jugs of group 2. Little evidence can be gathered from the study of so small a number of examples, though at a future date, when a large number of specimens are available from different sites, it may be possible to arrive at important conclusions regarding trade in the vessels, or even as to the whereabouts of the main centres of manufacture.

GLAZED WARES.

1. *White glazed ware*. The glaze is usually of a very fine quality, of a pure white colour, and the body of a delicate white paste which often turns almost to a porcelain as the result of hard firing. A number of fragments were found, but most of them were in the upper levels. They are closely akin to examples from Sāmarrā, Susa and various other sites in Persia.²⁴ Most important among ĤĪra examples was a flat bowl with sides almost vertical, bearing as decoration on the outside a number of small bosses placed alternately close to the upper and lower margin.

2. *Semi-celadon*. Wares which appear to be imitations of Chinese celadon were common enough at Sāmarrā and Susa. But sherds from ĤĪra of this type are important, though most of them were found near the surface, since a whole series were collected which served as proof, when seen together, that the idea of this type of glaze might well have been arrived at locally, independently of foreign models. The first stage is illustrated by the coarse, overfired bricks, which are to be found in the ruins of numerous burnt-brick buildings in Mesopotamia, and more especially in the ziggurat of Birs-i-Nimrūd. Fragments which show a glaze and paste intermediary between these and the normal type of Mesopotamian celadon, where the body is white and fine and the glaze polished and of a pure greenish colour, were found in considerable numbers, and the more accomplished ones were often of good quality. But they never attain to the excellence of the Chinese examples, and a portion of a bowl from the surface of a mound near Kūfa, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, serves as a contrast and as an example of an importation from the Far East.

3. *Wares with white enamel and decoration in blue or green glaze*. This type is one

²³ These are however usual elsewhere, see Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and Abbs. 11-13. Similar stamps on sherds from Nineveh are mostly Christian, see Hutchinson, in

Liverpool Annals, XVIII, 3-4, p. 111.

²⁴ The type was probably known as early as Parthian times. See Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

of the most common in Mesopotamia and Persia in early times, and it is also without question one of the most thoroughly successful. Only small fragments were found at Hira, but all were of fine quality. Delicate floral motives of naturalistic type were most usual, but one fragment of the base of a bowl bore an inscription of religious import. Glaze of the same type appeared on the fragments of a vessel, the sides of which were of open work, composed of criss-cross strips of clay, those on the outside inclined to the left and those on the inside to the right.

4. *Coarse ware, with bright blue glaze.* Fragments of this class were the most numerous at Hira. They appear at every period, and in the present state of our knowledge they afford little information, since the majority belong to large storage jars of simple and peculiarly constant form. But when further study of the coarse blue glazed potteries of Mesopotamia comes to be made, it will probably be possible to date sherds fairly exactly by the evidence afforded by the nature and colour of the glaze. Vessels which show a fine pure blue on the outside and a blackish blue within are thus in general fairly early in date, whereas a greenish blue characterises rather later examples. The glaze of storage pots of this type which are still made today is invariably green rather than blue in colour.

Fragments of a very fine vessel of this type from the floor of a house in mound III could be pieced together to reconstruct the fine jar shown in Fig. 23. It has three loop handles at the neck and a relief ornament of rosettes and bunches of grapes set three together to form a star, above the shoulder. Numismatic and other evidence date the vessel to the eighth century. Other fragments with relief decoration, with stamps akin to those on the unglazed pottery, or without decoration at all, were numerous.²⁵

5. *Graffiato wares.* Some fragments bearing engraved decoration, as well as green and brown glaze pigments, were found in mounds III and IV. Script and floral motives were combined in the decoration, which was often of exquisite quality. A few related examples, of T'ang type also came to light in mound VII.

6. *Glazed ware with relief decoration.* A few small fragments of this attractive class of pottery, with designs of a rather Sasanian character in relief, below a golden-yellow or green glaze were found in the lower levels, more especially at the edge of mound I. Though of the finest quality, none were large enough to warrant special mention.

7. *Other types.* Lustred wares, bright green glazed and bright yellow glazed wares were only represented by a few fragments from upper levels, and are without archaeological importance; though some of them were of fine quality, none were of any size.

SMALL PLAQUES.

These small "icons" of very delicate plaster, most of them from the churches of mounds V and XI, have already been alluded to. Two types may be distinguished, one where the

²⁵ This is the commonest type of glazed pottery in Mesopotamia from Neo-Babylonian times onwards. The forms and decorations both remain remarkably constant,

and it is difficult to tell Parthian, Sasanian or early Islamic examples one from the other.



FIG. 19—HĪRA, STORAGE VESSEL, *In Situ* BELOW UPPER FLOOR, BUILDING I
VIII CENTURY, H. 84 CM.



FIG. 23—HĪRA, BLUE GLAZED STORAGE JAR, MOUND III, VIII CENTURY



A.



B.

FIG. 24—HĪRA, FRAGMENTS OF SMALL PLAQUES, CHURCHES V AND XI, VIII CENTURY
A—DEEPLY INCISED, H. 6.9 CM. B—SHALLOW INCISED AND RED FILLED, H. 8.5 CM.

design is thinly incised and where the cut away portion is filled in with a red pigment, and the other where large portions of the ground are removed, so as to leave the design in reserve, in high relief (*Fig. 24*). The designs of the former are of a geometrical character, crosses and circles forming the main motives; those of the latter are more elaborate, for though the cross is in general the main motive, we see associated with it circles, rope bands, stylised acanthus borders, scollops, and more especially, a double leafed acanthus sprig which springs up from the base of the cross to fill the empty space on either side of the shaft (*Fig. 24*).

This leafed cross is a motive of considerable importance in the whole of East Christian art. It is common in the Byzantine area, especially in the eighth and following centuries, and appears both in a naturalised and in a stylised manner.²⁶ It is also to be found frequently in Armenia.²⁷ There can be no doubt that these various examples are related to the HĪra crosses, and all alike are derived from the same original. This original was arrived at in all probability by combining the Christian symbol of the cross and the old motive of a divided sprig, which we see in so many different forms. Split palmettes thus frame crosses on piers which separate the windows in the sixth century portion of the church of St. Mary Panachrantos at Constantinople, while split acanthus leaves form cornucopia in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem (691-692). Similar divided sprigs are common in Sasanian art, for instance on the sculptures of Tāk-i-Būstān, and the double winged motive which is so characteristic of the Sasanians must be counted as another variation of the same theme. The leafed cross which is already fully developed by the seventh century is in fact a motive which probably originated in the east as the result of Christian and Sasanian contact, and from there it must have travelled to Armenia and to the Byzantine area, where it occurs occasionally at an early date, but very frequently in the eighth century. Its popularity was probably increased considerably owing to the iconoclast ban on representational art, and it serves as another instance of the eastern affinities at the back of that movement.

Other minor finds, most notably a number of fragmentary glass lamps and vessels of types which are characteristic of the period, must await discussion until further material has been unearthed, and it is to be hoped that it will be possible at some future date to continue the work at HĪra. The site is not only an important one; it appears also to be extremely productive, and its thorough excavation would undoubtedly well repay any museum that saw fit to undertake it. Nor would the task be a difficult one, for the mounds are low, and there are no overlying strata of habitation.

²⁶ We see it for instance on XI cent. slabs at Daphni and Hosios Lukas in Greece; on a book cover of repoussé work in the treasury of St. Mark's, or on a reliquary of silver gilt, of the XI cent., in the Louvre. For other instances see Millet, "Les Iconoclastes et la

croix," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XXXIV, 1910, p. 96.

²⁷ One of the earliest examples is the west front of the church of Achthamar, Lake Van, 915-921, but it is universal on later tombstones.

SUR UN TYPE DE RELIURE DES TEMPS ALMOHADES

PAR PROSPER RICARD

JUSQU'ICI, NOUS NE CONNAISSONS, AU MAROC, QUE TROIS TYPES BIEN DÉFINIS DE RELIURES maghrébines, tels que, du moins, ils sont représentés dans les musées d'Art musulman de la médersa des Oudaïas à Rabât, du palais du Batha à Fès.

Premier: un type oriental, assez ancien, conçu à la manière de maintes compositions persanes du XVI^e siècle, avec un médaillon central ellipsoïde souvent accompagné, aux angles, d'écoinçons au profil festonné: organes ornés d'arabesques florales en léger relief obtenu par l'estampage de coins appropriés, le tout enfermé dans un menu cadre tantôt tracé au *ḵalam* et à l'encre d'or tantôt gaufré sur feuille d'or au moyen de petits fers. Une feuille mince de cuir de couleur, ou de papier coloré, ou d'or, remplissait quelquefois le champ arabesque du médaillon ou des écoinçons.¹

Second: un type qui semble avoir eu quelque vogue à la fin du XIX^e siècle, d'allure hispano-mauresque, avec médaillon carré à décor polygonal et, dans les compartiments, de petits motifs floraux: éléments en léger relief obtenu, comme dans le type précédent, par le procédé de l'estampage. Parfois dans les angles, s'enclavent, également estampés, des écoinçons au profil de stalactites. Un listel, gaufré sur feuille d'or et au moyen de petits fers, encadre le tout.

Troisième: un type au décor rare avec ou sans médaillon estampé ou gaufré, caractérisé surtout par une ou deux chaînettes courant dans l'encadrement entre des listels nus, sans or, d'allure archaïque sinon pure de style.

Là s'arrêterait notre connaissance de l'art de la reliure au Maroc si ne nous avait été dernièrement ouverte (mars 1933), par faveur spéciale, la bibliothèque arabe de la médersa Ben Yūsuf de Marrākesḥ, héritière de diverses collections religieuses, en particulier de celle de la vieille mosquée cathédrale Kutubiya fondée par les émirs almohades au milieu du XII^e siècle: nous y avons découvert, entre autres ouvrages, plusieurs tomes d'un coran artistement relié, daté du XIII^e siècle, et dont nous allons étudier la couverture.

Des dix tomes qui devaient composer l'ouvrage, il n'en reste plus que quatre renfermant chacun une centaine de feuillets d'un excellent papier couvert d'une écriture assez régulière et même élégante, à raison de neuf lignes à la page. Cette écriture est de belle taille, d'autant que le format du papier, de 29 cm. de haut sur 22 cm. de large, correspond à peu près à notre in-quarto.

Dans le corps de l'ouvrage, les titres des *surātes*, en caractères coufiques enjolivés

¹ C'est de ce seul type de reliure que parle la manuscrit arabe, daté de 1029 H. (1619 J-C), que nous avons fait imprimer à l'intention des relieurs marocains: "*L'art*

de la Reliure et de la Dorure," texte arabe d'Abou El Abbas Ahmed Ben Mohammed Es Sofiani (2^e édition, Paris, Geuthner, 1925).

d'enroulements floraux et encadrés d'arabesques géométriques, sont mis en vedette par des rehauts d'or et de couleurs, cependant qu'un couple de belles pages enluminées (partiellement conservé), marque le commencement et la fin de chaque tome.

Les enluminures finales sont enfin précédées d'une inscription en lettres d'or serties de noir, qui non seulement date l'ouvrage, mais révèle encore la qualité de son calligraphe. Voici le texte de l'une d'elles: "A été terminé ce quatrième tome du Livre chéri, à la louange d'Allāh l'Elevé, le plus Haut, et par son aide, le dimanche 13 du mois de radjab de l'année 654 en la capitale de Marrākesh—qu'Allāh (qu'Il soit exalté!) la protège ainsi que ses habitants. Ceci a été écrit de la main droite périssable du serviteur d'Allāh—qu'Il soit exalté!—qui avoue ses fautes, qui espère en la miséricorde de son Maître, 'Omar, émir des croyants, croyant en Allāh Puissant et Grand."

L'année 654 de l'hégire correspond à peu près à l'année 1256 de notre ère. Or, à cette époque, les historiographes signalent l'existence d'Abū Ḥafṣ 'Omar al-Murtaḍā, le douzième et avant-dernier des émirs almohades, qui régna dix-huit ou dix-neuf ans sur Marrākesh, de 646 à 665 H. (1248-1266 J-C). C'est donc lui qui aurait signé le coran dont il est parlé ici, dans la huitième année de son règne.

Les reliures étant de la même époque que la calligraphie, deviennent, du moins à notre connaissance, les plus anciennes que nous possédions au Maroc. Comme elles sont toutes semblables, la description de l'une d'elles s'applique aux autres.

Chaque reliure se compose de deux plats rectangulaires et d'un rabat pentagonal formés chacun d'une âme de papier épais sinon de véritable carton, réunis par un seul et même morceau de cuir aujourd'hui brunâtre, qui à l'origine dut être de couleur rouge. Nous avons là, sans nul doute, un échantillon du cuir de bouc ou de chèvre tanné au takaout et teint du côté de la fleur au sumac, de ce maroquin dont la renommée traversa les mers.

Quant aux plats, ils reproduisent très exactement les dimensions des feuillets du livre, car il n'en débordent ni le pied, ni la tête, ni la gouttière. L'articulation des plats et du rabat est assurée par l'aménagement de charnières d'une largeur égale à l'épaisseur du volume: l'une restant souple pour s'appliquer très exactement sur le dos qui reste plat (jamais rond ni doré), l'autre étant renforcée d'un carton pour mieux recevoir, comme les plats et le rabat, soit une ornementation, soit le titre aux petits fers.

Aucune décoration à l'intérieur qui est doublé de cuir mince et lisse, probablement de mouton. Mais, à l'extérieur, plats et rabat sont couverts d'un ample entrelacs polygonal rectiligne dont les brins, lisses et nus, serties au plioir, se brisent, s'entrecroisent, et compartimentent des polygones de formes diverses remplis d'un enchevêtrement touffu de tresses dont les vides se ponctuent de rosettes et de points (*Fig. 1*).

L'entrelacs principal est du type courant, encore très répandu de nos jours, surtout chez les artisans marocains du bois (sculpteurs et peintres) qui le dénomment *muthamman* parce que son élément constitutif est l'étoile à huit pointes.

Voici comment on le construit généralement (*Fig. 2*): détermination du carré de l'entrelacs, dont le côté droit doit être quelque peu inférieur à la largeur du plat de manière à

réserver une marge d'encadrement; partage de chacun des côtés de ce carré en cinq divisions égales: la division ainsi obtenue représente la largeur totale qu'occupera un couple de brins ainsi que l'intervalle compris entre deux couples voisins de l'entrelacs; nouveau partage de chacune des divisions extrêmes et de la division médiane en cinq subdivisions: la subdivision représente la largeur du brin de l'entrelacs, largeur qui est contenue trois fois dans l'intervalle compris entre les deux brins d'un même couple; tracé, au travers du carré du schéma, des brins parallèles et perpendiculaires; report de ce tracé sur les diagonales et vers les angles; tracé définitif de l'entrelacs qui n'a plus qu'à être précisé par des involutions et des entrecroisements aux endroits convenables, ces derniers devant faire passer un même brin alternativement dessus et dessous ceux qu'il rencontre, en lui donnant le rôle de *kātī' wa makṭū'*, "coupant et coupé," qui est de règle dans l'entrelacs arabe.

Comme le tracé ainsi établi laisse des vides dans le haut et le bas de la surface à orner, ces vides sont comblés par un débordement judicieux des brins de l'entrelacs. C'est toujours le même plioir, à rainure centrale (deux filets parallèles), qui a servi au tracé.

Passons maintenant au lacis compact qui remplit les compartiments de l'entrelacs: peut-être réglé par un quadrillage préalable, il nécessite quelques fers seulement: d'une part, deux petits fers droits, longs l'un de 8 mm. (a), l'autre de 4 mm (b), figurant une cordelette tendue entre deux filets distants d'environ 1 mm. 5; d'autre part un fer analogue aux deux précédents mais courbe, décrivant à peine un demi-cercle (c) et long d'environ 4 mm. Soit trois fers dont l'agencement approprié autorise des tracés suffisamment variés, quelle que soit la forme des polygones à remplir (*Fig. 3*).

Les surfaces minuscules laissées vides par ce lacis sont elles-mêmes centrées par deux autres motifs: une rosette à huit lobes (d) et un petit cercle pointé (e), également appliqués aux petits fers sur feuille d'or.

Le résultat final est un guillochis d'or sur fond rouge brun que le nu des brins de l'entrelacs est particulièrement propre à mettre en valeur.

En conclusion, le style de ces reliures est nettement différent de ceux dont il a été parlé au début du présent article. S'il n'apporte pas de technique vraiment nouvelle, puisqu'il recourt à un procédé de gaufrage aux petits fers sur feuilles d'or encore pratiqué de nos jours, du moins il offre l'exemple de l'emploi de deux éléments ornementaux abandonnés depuis longtemps par les relieurs maghrébins: à savoir: l'ample entrelacs polygonal courant parfois sur toute la surface des plats à décorer; et le lacis, compact et menu, qui, en dépit de ses ressources limitées, a pourtant suffi à l'élaboration d'œuvres multiples et intéressantes.

Par son ample entrelacs polygonal, autant que par son lacis enchevêtré, ce style est très représentatif de la série hispano-mauresque qui s'affirma si magistralement dès le XII^e siècle dans l'architecture et la décoration des émirs almohades, aujourd'hui encore visibles à Mar-rākesh, à Rabāt et à Séville, et dont celles des princes naṣrides de Grenade, zianides de Tlemcen et merīnides de Fès (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles) sont les glorieux prolongements.

Diffère-t-il au surplus de celui des enluminures qui décorent si délicieusement les pages

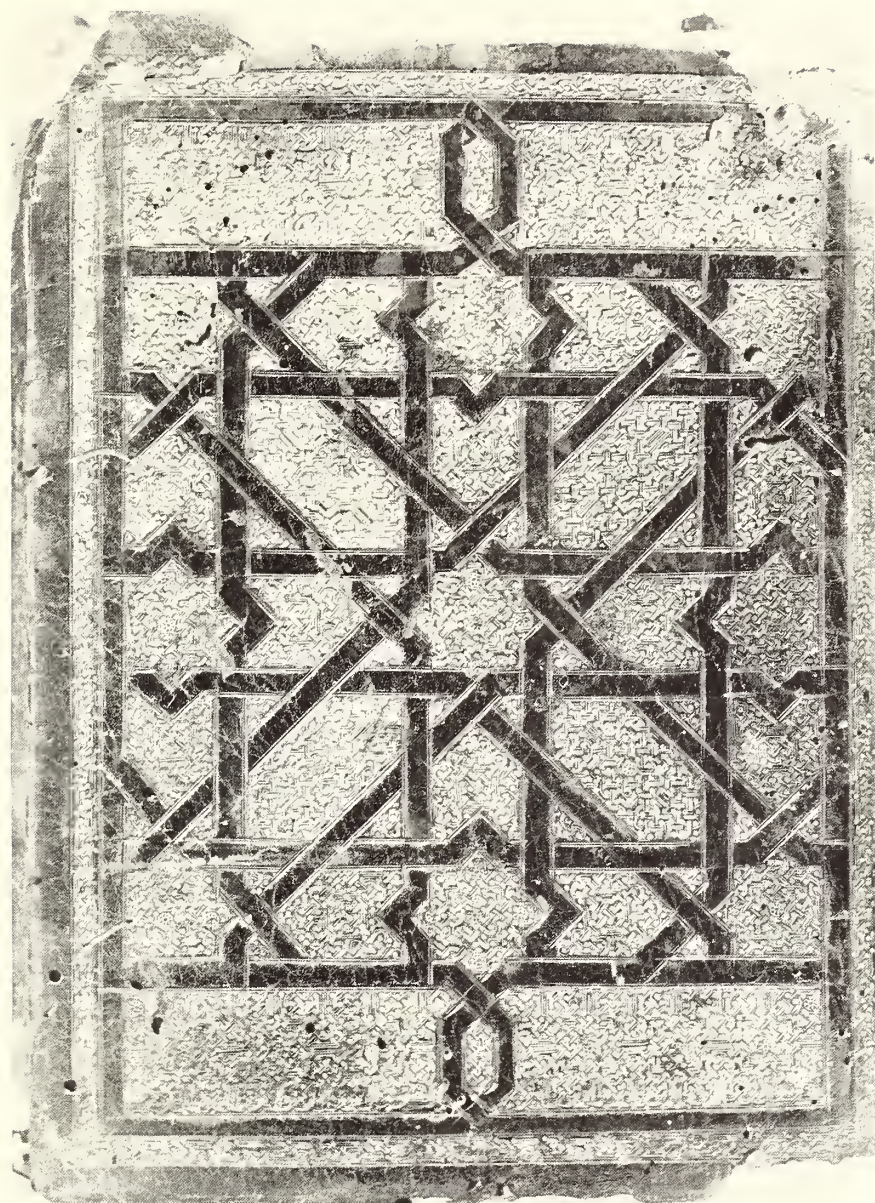


FIG. 1—PLAT D'UNE RELIURE, MARRĀKESH XIII^e SIÈCLE, MÉDERSA BEN YŪSUF

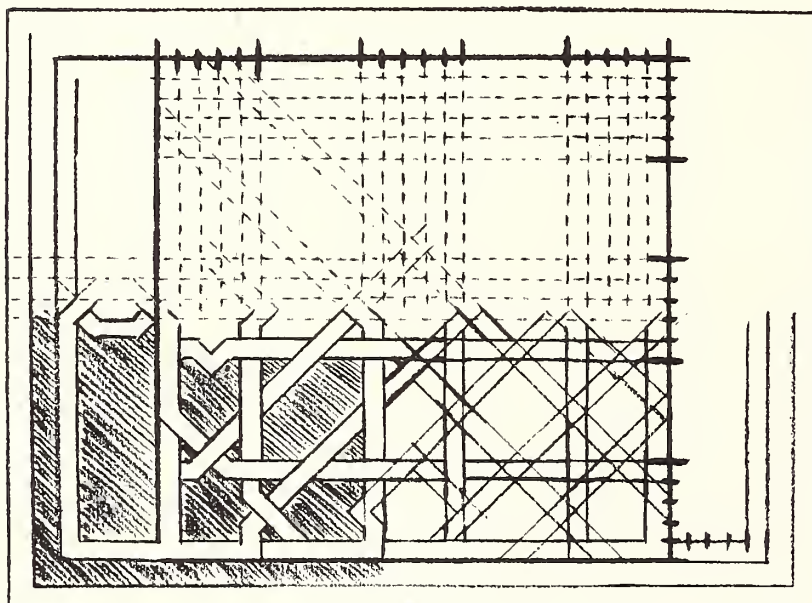


FIG. 2.—TRACÉ DE L'ENTRELACS POLYGONAL DE LA RELIURE REPRÉSENTÉE FIG. 1

<- 8 mm ->	<- 4 ->	<- 4 ->	<- 8 ->	1/5
A.	B.	C.	D.	E.

FERS À GAUFRE UTILISÉS DANS LA DÉCORATION DE LA RELIURE REPRÉSENTÉE FIG. 1

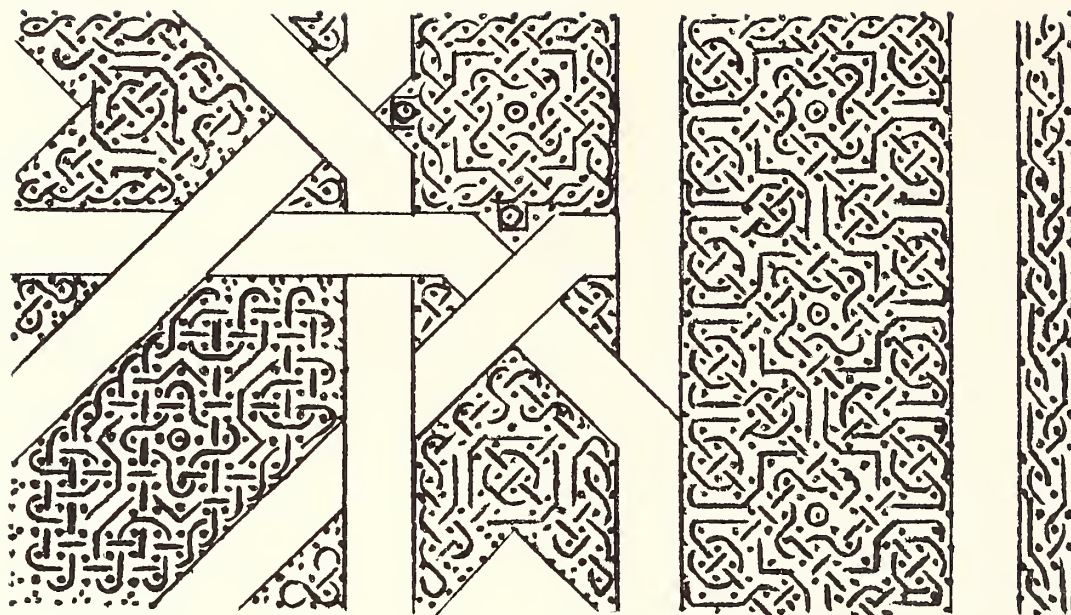


FIG. 3.—SCHEMA DES LACÉS GAUFRÉS DE LA RELIURE REPRÉSENTÉE FIG. 1

jumelles du commencement et de la fin du même coran, où se retrouvent, étroitement associés, l'entrelacs compartimentant la composition et l'inextricable lacs qui en remplit les encadrements? Nous ne le croyons pas. A notre avis, les divergences d'aspect ne sont dues qu'à de simples différences de technique et de matière: le plioir et le fer à gaufrer donnant sur le cuir d'autres effets que celui du *Kalam* sur le papier; l'or appliqué sous forme d'encre n'ayant pas la même consistance que l'or en feuilles; le *Kalam* et le fer à gaufrer imposant enfin chacun leur échelle ornementale particulière.

Nous ne rechercherons pas ici les origines d'un style aussi affirmé. Nous rappellerons pourtant que par les nœuds, les chaînettes, les tresses incessamment répétées de son lacs, ce style s'apparente à celui de certains ouvrages coptes dont l'art arabe s'est inspiré dès ses débuts, et surtout de ces reliures de l'époque aghlabide (IX^e-X^e siècles) récemment découvertes à Kairawān par M. L. Poinssot, directeur des Antiquités et Arts de Tunisie.²

Si, soumis à l'éternelle loi, ce style ne s'est pas maintenu, nous croyons cependant qu'il n'a pas complètement disparu. N'est-ce pas lui qui subsiste dans ce type d'allure hispano-mauresque, duquel nous avons parlé au début du présent article, et dont l'entrelacs amenuisé rectiligne n'est autre qu'une forme décadente du grand entrelacs polygonal du XIII^e siècle? Et n'est-ce pas son lacs qui persiste dans les chaînettes d'encadrement du troisième type, archaïque, signalé plus haut?

Quoiqu'il en soit, à l'heure actuelle, aucune collection nord-africaine ne possède le type de reliure qui nous occupe ici. Aucune collection française non plus, à moins qu'on y rattache un jour, après plus ample information, trois reliures, d'un genre évolué peut-être, qui figurent au musée des Arts décoratifs de Paris, et qui pour l'instant sont attribuées à l'Égypte du XVII^e siècle.

Il est curieux de remarquer enfin que l'Institut oriental de l'Université de Chicago conserve un spécimen de reliure très voisin du nôtre. Reproduit et décrit par Miss Julie Michelet dans son étude "*A Loan Exhibition of Islamic Bookbindings*,"³ il est classé comme provenant de l'Afrique du Nord et attribué aux XIII^e-XVI^e siècles, par analogie avec une autre reliure étudiée par le Dr. E. Gratzl dans "*Islamische Bucheinbände*."

² Ces reliures, les plus anciennes que l'on connaisse en Afrique du Nord, et peut-être même dans tout l'Orient musulman, font actuellement partie des collections du musée tunisien du Bardo. Elles ont fait l'objet d'une très intéressante communication de M. Georges Marçais, directeur du musée d'Art musulman d'Alger, au congrès de langue, de littérature et d'art arabes qui s'est tenu à Tunis en décembre 1931. Nous attendons de M. M. L. Poinssot et G. Marçais l'étude approfondie qu'ils nous doivent.

³ Publication de l'Institut d'Art de Chicago (page 17 et fig. 12). Dans la même étude, Miss Julie Michelet donne la description (page 17) et la photographie (fig. 11) d'une autre reliure attribuée à l'Égypte des XII^e-XIV^e siècles, si proche de la nôtre qu'elle mériterait d'être examinée de plus près pour voir si elle ne serait pas d'un style identique. Ne disposant que de la reproduction, très réduite, nous n'avons pu procéder à cet examen.

LA RELIURE DANS LA PERSE OCCIDENTALE, SOUS LES MONGOLS, AU XIV^e ET AU DEBUT DU XV^e SIÈCLE¹ PAR ARMÉNAG SAKISIAN

LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE L'ART DU RELIEUR SUPPOSE UNE CIVILISATION ET UNE CULTURE raffinées. L'Orient musulman, à la fin du Moyen Age et au commencement des temps modernes, surpasse toutefois l'Occident, et on ne peut même pas mettre en parallèle les reliures de Louis XII,² par exemple, antérieures aux influences orientales qui se sont exercées par l'intermédiaire de Venise, avec les reliures persanes contemporaines. Les artistes iraniens ont en effet créé des couvertures qui habillent dignement les chefs-d'œuvres de calligraphie, d'enluminure et parfois de peinture, que représentent les beaux manuscrits de Perse.

Un juste tribut a d'ailleurs été payé à cette supériorité à la fois technique et décorative, par les emprunts aux reliures orientales, faites à Venise d'abord, et d'une façon plus générale en Europe. A telle enseigne qu'au XVI^e siècle, l'art de la reliure, sans parler de l'Italie, est profondément marquée par ces influences orientales, en France, comme en Angleterre.

C'est à une période peu connue de cet art, celle de la domination mongole, que je consacre ces quelques pages.

A défaut de spécimens connus de reliures persanes du XIII^e siècle, ce sont celles de l'époque mongole, à partir du XIV^e siècle, qui sont les plus anciennes que l'on puisse étudier directement.

On peut dire que la période mongole qui commence au milieu du XIII^e siècle, par la prise de Bagdad en 1258, se prolonge, dans la Perse occidentale tout au moins, où se placent ses capitales, jusqu'à la fin du XIV^e et même au début du XV^e siècle. En effet, les Djalāirides qui succèdent aux Īlkhāns dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle, appartiennent à une famille mongole qui détenait déjà le pouvoir sous les derniers Īlkhāns, de sorte que le nouveau régime n'est, au changement de dynastie près, que le prolongement du précédent.

Les Mongols ne représentent pas par eux-mêmes un facteur artistique, pas plus en Chine³ qu'en Perse, mais leur conquête de l'Iran correspond à une vague d'influence chinoise.⁴

Aussi haut que l'on remonte le cours du XIV^e siècle, la disposition décorative des reliures persanes comporte un médaillon au milieu du rectangle du plat, et un motif pour les coins, de même que l'on retrouve la même disposition à l'époque 'abbāside, sur une miniature de

¹ J'ai été aimablement autorisé, par Mahmoud Kémal Bey, président du Conseil du Musée de l'Evkaf, à faire photographier les reliures de ce musée qui figurent dans ce travail, et par Halil Edhem Bey, directeur général des Musées d'Istanbul, à les reproduire. Qu'ils trouvent ici tous mes remerciements.

² "Les plus belles Reliures de la réunion des Bibliothèques Nationales." *Catalogue de l'Exposition*, MCMXXIX, Paris, No. 47, pl. IV.

³ M. A. Waley parlant des Mongols de Chine dit: "Ils étaient simplement des gendarmes. Ils n'ont pas exercé plus d'influence sur le développement de la civilisation chinoise, que les préposés à la porte du British Museum n'influent sur les études des gentlemen qui travaillent à l'intérieur," *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*. Londres, 1923, p. 237.

⁴ Voir Arménag Bey Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 24 et 25.

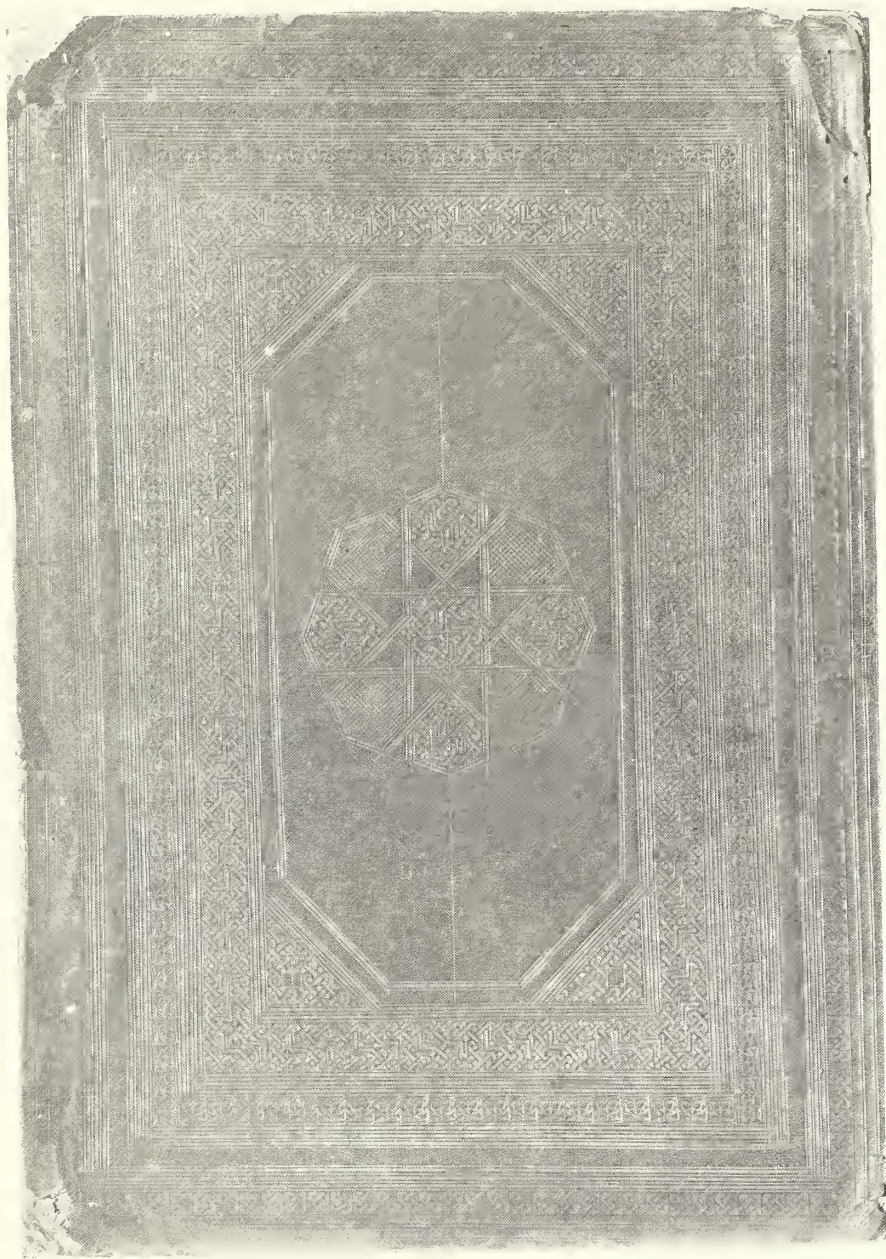


FIG. 1—RELIURE D'UN CORAN AU NOM D'ULDJĀITŪ, MÉSOPOTAMIE 1310
ISTANBUL, MUSÉE DE L'EVKAF

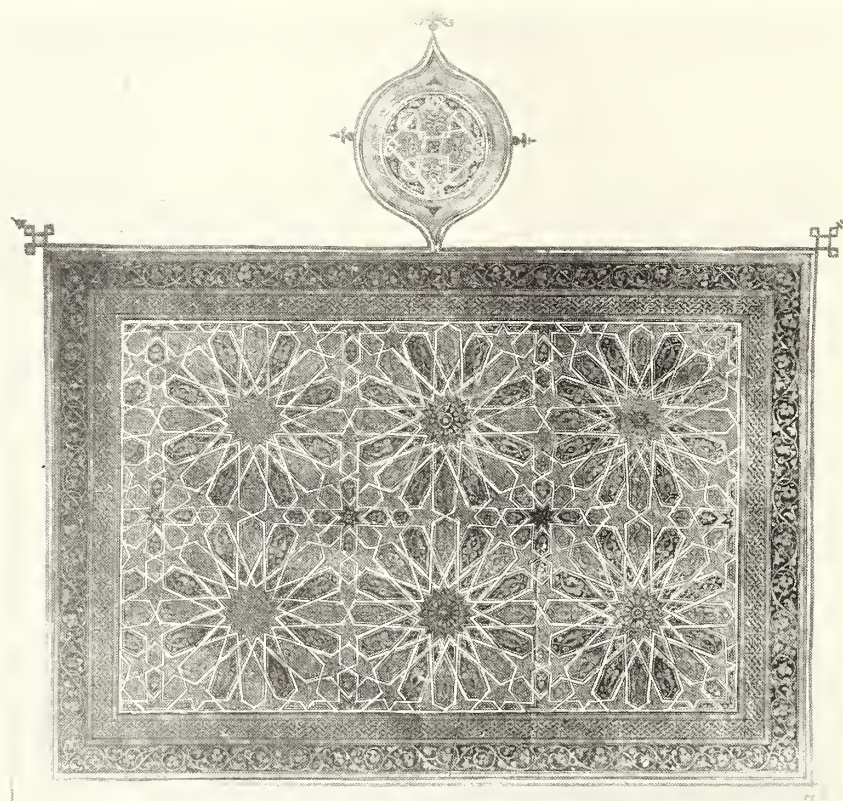


FIG. 2—ENLUMINURE D'UN CORAN AU NOM D'ULDJAITÜ, MÉSOPOTAMIE 1310
ISTANBUL, MUSÉE DE L'EVKAF

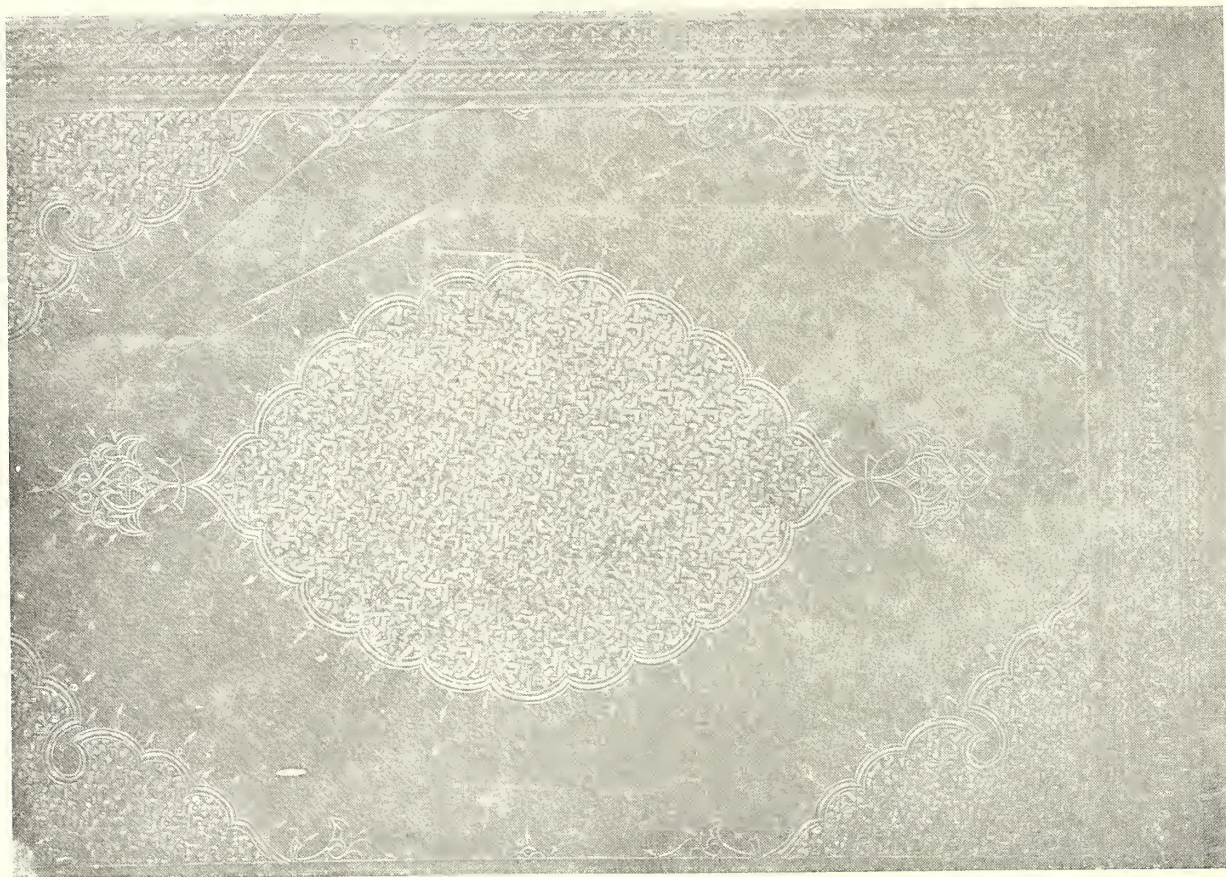


FIG. 3—RELIURE SIGNÉE MUHAMMED 'ALĪ, TEBRIZ 1334
ISTANBUL, MUSÉE DE L'EVKAF

1222 reproduisant des livres,⁵ et deux reliures syriennes de type persan, appartenant à la première moitié du XIII^e siècle.⁶

C'est à partir de la première moitié du XV^e siècle seulement qu'il se trouvera des artistes assez hardis pour briser les cadres dans lesquels l'ornementation était enfermée, et se servir de tout le champ du plat pour une composition qui devient quelquefois un véritable tableau.⁷ Mais c'est là l'exception, et même au XVI^e siècle, lorsque les plats sont entièrement décorés, leurs divisions classiques subsistent en général, l'espace compris entre le médaillon central et les écoinçons étant également orné, au lieu de rester libre.

La reliure des deuxième et vingt et unième parties (*ḍjuz'*) d'un coran d'environ quarante centimètres sur soixante, copiées en 1310 pour le souverain mongol de Perse Uldjāitū,⁸ de son nom musulman *Khodābende Muḥammed*, est à médaillon central octogonal d'un caractère géométrique accusé, et à coins en triangle, le tout entouré de multiples bandes d'encadrement qui enrichissent le plat (*Fig. 1*). La décoration principale de cette reliure, en cuir brun rouge, sans or aucun, est formée par des entrelacs à hachures, d'un effet vermiculé, ponctués de petits cercles; des *rūmīs*, ces feuilles conventionnelles dérivant de l'acanthé byzantine ornent toutefois l'une des frises. Le calligraphe est 'Alī ibn Muḥammed ibn Zaid ibn Muḥammed ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī al-Ḥusainī.

Quatre autres *ḍjuz'* de coran du même type, copiés en 1306-7 par ordre du même souverain et par le même calligraphe, datés de Mossoul "la bien gardée"⁹ situent notre reliure en Mésopotamie.¹⁰

Ces *ḍjuz'* qui appartiennent certainement à un même tout, représentent par leur calligraphie à grands caractères *sulus* noirs cernés d'or, de beaucoup de style¹¹ et leur enluminure, l'un des plus beaux spécimens de coran connus. Sur une page d'un suprême bon goût, en pourpre, bleu et or, un décor géométrique rectiligne, très évolué, mérite de retenir l'attention (*Fig. 2*). La reliure à la fois riche, et sévère par l'absence totale d'or complète cet ensemble.

Une autre reliure remarquable est celle de Tebriz "la ville des monothéistes, la voûte de l'Islam," datée de 1334.¹² En cuir brun rouge, monochrome et sans or, le plat est à médaillon central polylobé et allongé et à coins qui représentent des quarts de médaillon cruciforme (*Fig. 3*). C'est déjà le type classique et ce qui est excessivement rare, le relieur qui l'a réalisé a signé son œuvre au trait d'or, à l'intérieur du plat gauche: a relié l'esclave

⁵ Marteau et Vever, *Miniatures Persanes*, pl. XXXVIII. Le plat des volumes représentés est décoré d'un médaillon circulaire au milieu et de triangles dans les coins.

⁶ Musée de l'Evkaf, Nos. 3281 et 1738.

⁷ Notamment la reliure du Caire de 1421 (Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 2601) et celle des œuvres du poète 'Attār, au nom de *Shāhrukh*, datées de 1438, à la Bibliothèque du Vieux-Sérail, pl. XXXIII, fig. 50, de la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur.

⁸ Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 400.

⁹ Les dixième, treizième, vingt-quatrième et vingt-septième parties. Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 599.

¹⁰ Voir la note suivante.

¹¹ W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, reproduit, pl. 99, une page de coran de la même série, daté de Bagdad 1306, et appartenant à la Bibliothèque d'Etat de Leipzig.

¹² Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 2485.

Muḥammed 'Alī.¹³ L'ornementation est formée d'entrelacs ponctués, sans hachures, à la différence de celle des volumes précédents, ce qui produit tout à fait l'effet d'un décor vermiculé. Une vignette en tête du manuscrit est à fond or avec une invocation à Dieu (*bismillāh*) en blanc et des *rūmīs* archaïques. Le calligraphe est Ḥādjdjī Muḥammed ibn Maḥmūd ibn Ma'sūd Ḥādjdjī Shāh.

La couverture en cuir brun rouge et sans or d'une "Chimie du Bonheur," *Kitāb Kīmīya al-Sa'āda*, copiée en 1379 au Shīrwān, dans la ville de Shāberān,¹⁴ est exceptionnellement représentative de l'évolution du type et de l'ornementation des reliures persanes. Si d'après le colophon, le scribe-enlumineur, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd-Allāh, est de Chiraz, il est non-moins certain que le relieur était également un Persan, et peut-être un Chirazin. Le contraste est frappant entre les deux médaillons des plats: l'un (*Fig. 4*) procédant manifestement du cercle,¹⁵ forme plus ancienne et à laquelle Chiraz est restée longtemps fidèle, conserve sur le plat droit la première place, tandis que l'autre (*Fig. 5*) allongé d'un type plus élégant et postérieur, est placé sur le plat gauche, c'est-à-dire au second plan. Les trois genres d'ornement: inventé, interprété et imité, qui constituent le cycle complet de l'évolution décorative, se retrouvent sur cette couverture. Le premier, représenté par des entrelacs, abandonnés vers la fin du siècle, s'est réfugié à l'intérieur et au dos; le second qui paraît sous la forme florale stylisée des *rūmīs* domine, enfin le troisième sous la forme de fleurs et de feuilles naturalistes, fait son apparition dans les parties secondaires: le pourtour du médaillon central et les compartiments de la bordure. Ce décor naturaliste, une des principales caractéristiques du XV^e siècle, surtout sous les Tīmūrīdes, était donc déjà employé au XIV^e, sous les influences chinoises représentées par les Mongols.

La page initiale enluminée de ce manuscrit (*Fig. 6*) est remarquable par ses divisions géométriques qui s'allient à un décor exclusivement floral et naturaliste, ce qui semble indiquer, qu'à raison de sa technique plus libre et plus souple, l'enluminure a devancé la reliure dans l'évolution décorative.

Une inscription protocolaire en *naskhī*, au milieu de cette page, donne le nom d'un prince, Māl Shāh Hūshenk, qui prend le titre de Sultan, tandis que le nom de l'ouvrage est indiqué en caractères coufiques sur les côtés. Au dos le titre du livre est répété sur le cuir, en caractères *sulus* qui ne manquent pas de style.

Une reliure, en cuir brun rouge foncé, d'un manuscrit de 1385 au nom du Prince des

¹³ *Bende*, esclave, est une expression d'humilité.

Une des plus anciennes reliures d'Europe, datée et signée, est la reliure allemande de 1469, postérieure par conséquent de près d'un siècle et demi, conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 486. Voir "Les plus belles reliures de la réunion des Bibliothèques Nationales," *Catalogue de l'Exposition*, Van Oest, No. 31, pl. III.

¹⁴ Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 1555.

¹⁵ Une reliure qui a figuré à l'Exposition des Arts Musulmans de Munich, rappelle par son médaillon central pansu et son décor de *rūmīs* archaïques et de fleurs

ou feuilles naturalistes, le plat droit de Shāberān de 1379. Mais elle est encadrée par une large bande à inscription *sulus*, interrompue par des hexagones à décor de nœuds. Cette couverture n'est certainement pas turque, à l'encontre de la supposition de F. R. Martin. F. Sarre und F. R. Martin, *Ausstellung der Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst*, pl. 19. Voir "La Reliure turque du XV^e au XIX^e siècle" de l'auteur, *Revue de l'Art*, Mai, Septembre-Octobre et Décembre, 1927.

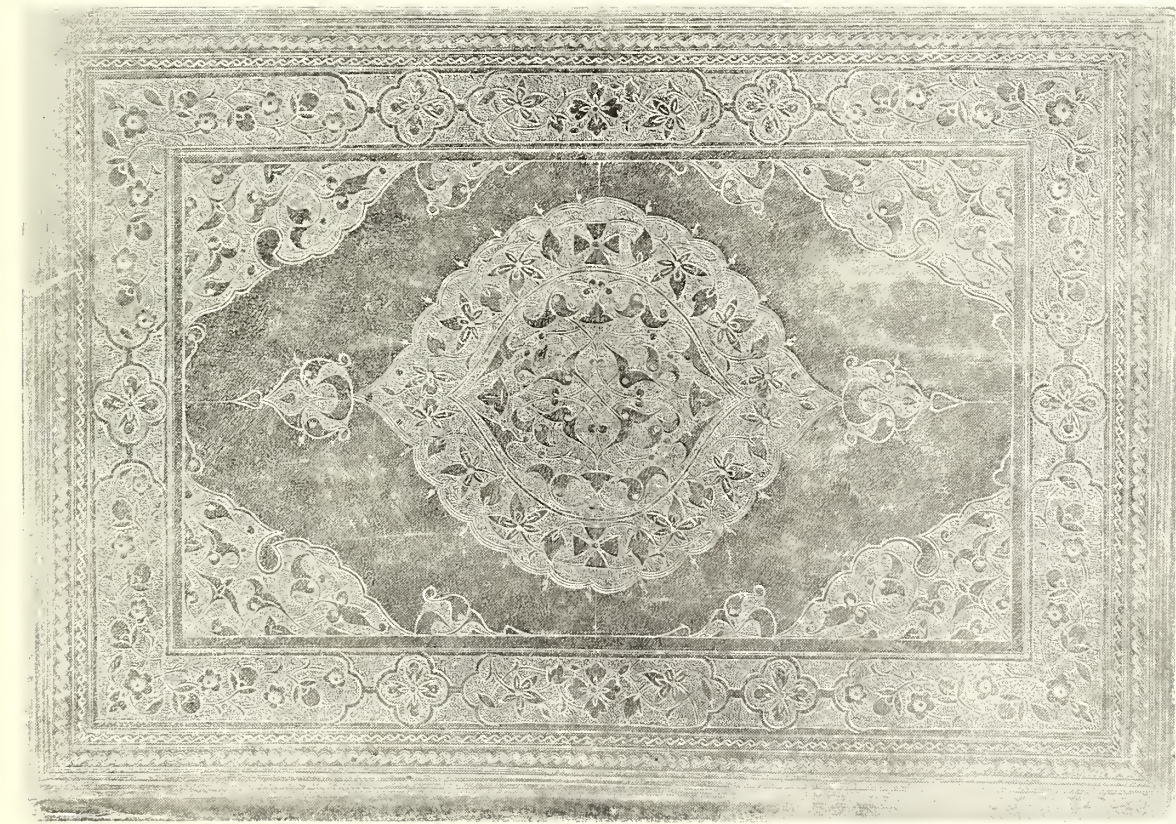


FIG. 4—PLAT DROIT

RELIURE D'UN MS. AU NOM DU PRINCE MĀL SHĀH HŪSHENK
SHĪRWĀN 1379, ISTANBUL, MUSÉE DE L'ENKAF

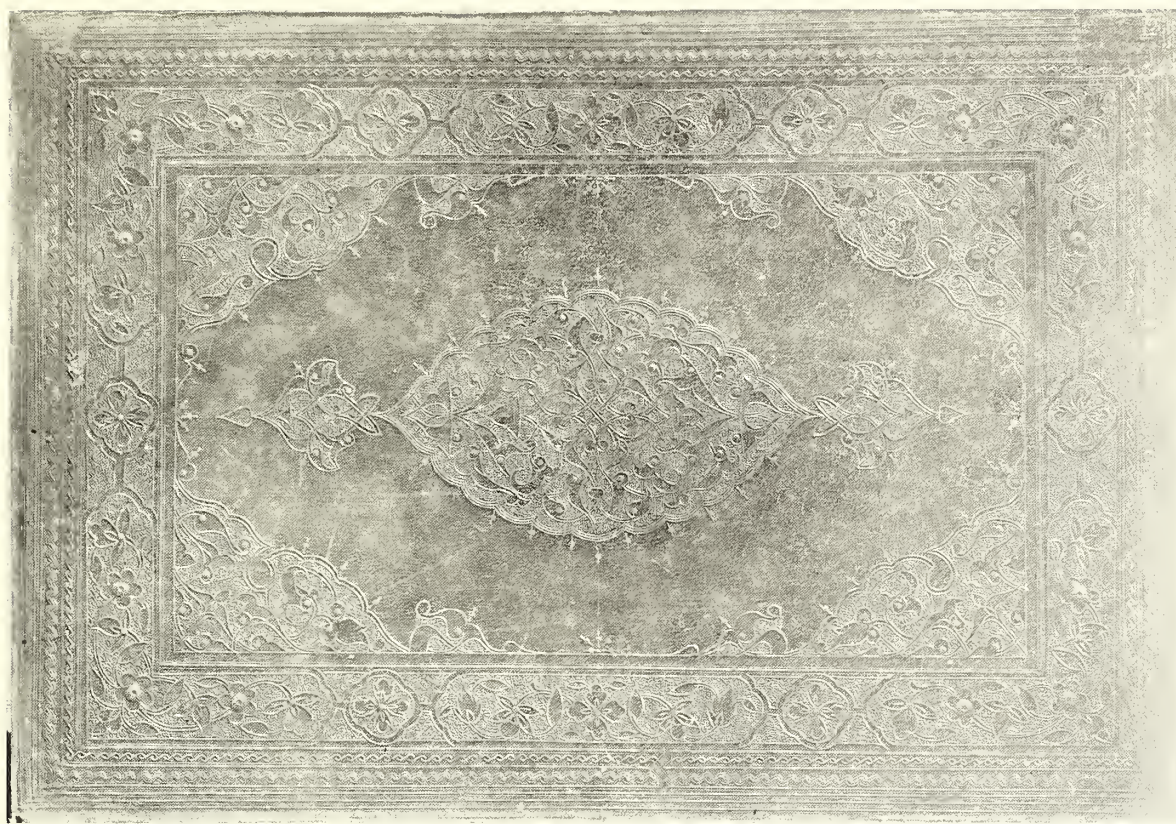


FIG. 5—PLAT GAUCHE

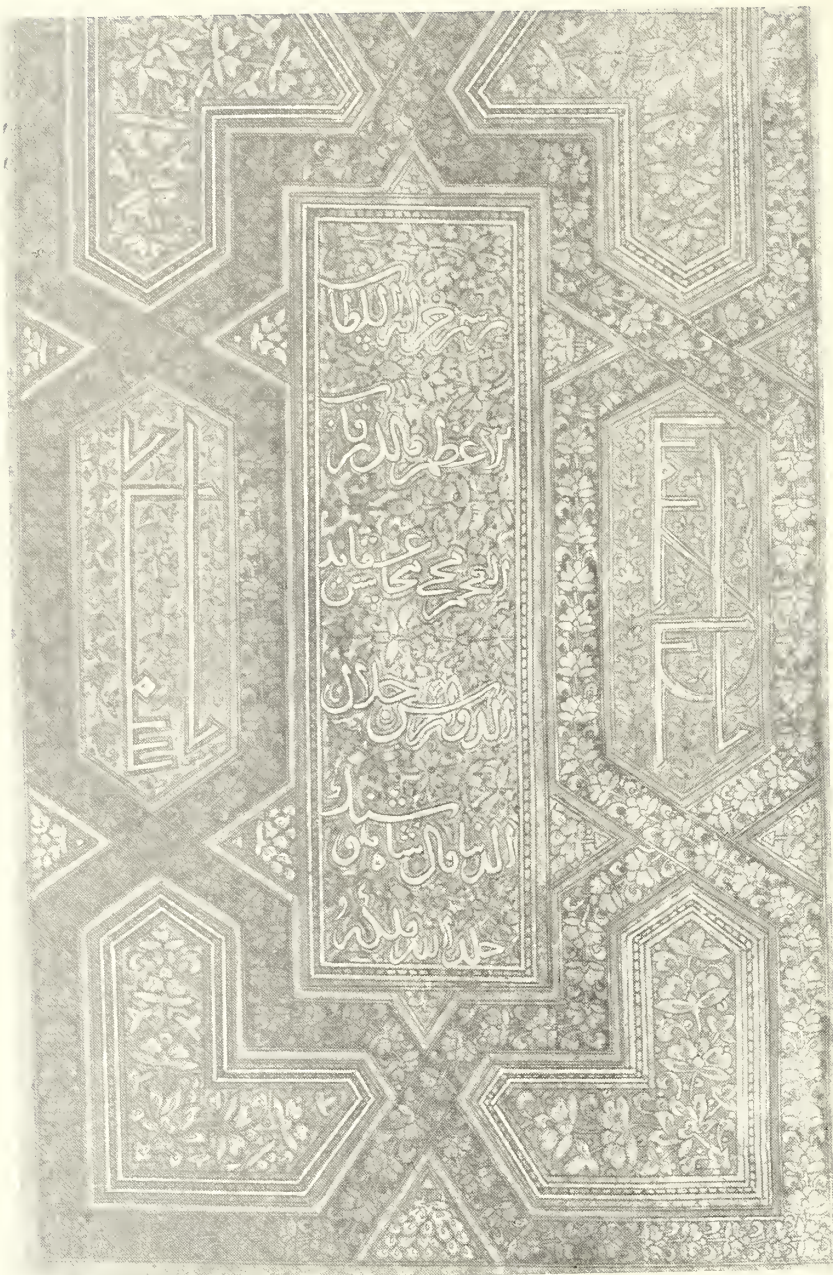


FIG. 6—FRONTISPICE ENLUMINÉ D'UN MS. AU NOM DU PRINCE MĀL SHĀH
HŪSHENK, SHĪRWĀN 1379, ISTANBUL, MUSÉE DE L'EVKAF

Croyants (*Amīr al-Mu'minīn*) al-Mutawekkil,¹⁶ c'est-à-dire du Calife 'Abbāside d'Égypte, est sans doute possible, l'œuvre d'un artiste persan. Elle a un médaillon élégant à quatre branches, décoré de *rūmīs*, et pour la première fois l'or apparaît sur le plat, discrètement appliqué au trait du décor. Même, un liséré bleu court entre deux filets d'or autour du motif central.

C'est le médaillon de l'intérieur, en forme de lentille bi-convexe et à entrelacs qui rappelle encore le siècle finissant, quoique le trait du décor soit doré. Le titre de l'ouvrage qui se rapporte à Muḥammed—*Kitāb al-Shifā fī sheref al-Muṣṭafā*—est inscrit au trait d'or et en caractères *sulus*, au dos de la reliure. Le scribe est Yūsuf ibn Aḥmed ibn Yūsuf al-Shādli.

On trouve au Caire au XIV^e et au XV^e siècles des reliures incontestablement persanes, dont l'intérêt dépasse notre sujet et qui supposent l'existence de colonies d'artistes persans en Égypte. La Syrie et l'Égypte étaient réunis politiquement et ont possédé la même culture et les mêmes arts, ce qui justifie le qualificatif syro-égyptien. Or en 1518 Sultan Sélim I. transplante à Constantinople tous les Persans d'Alep,¹⁷ et 'Ālī, l'auteur turc de la fin du XVI^e siècle qui a écrit sur les artistes du livre¹⁸ cite nommément parmi les exilés, l'enlumineur¹⁹ Tādj al-Dīn. On surprend ainsi sur le fait l'influence persane s'exerçant en Syrie, sur les lieux-mêmes. D'ailleurs, comme je l'ai fait ressortir à propos des faïences de Damas,²⁰ avant la conquête turque de 1517, la Syrie, rattachée à l'Égypte, subissait d'autant plus l'influence iranienne que c'était l'Euphrate qui formait la limite entre les possessions persanes et celles du Sultan Mamlūk d'Égypte;²¹ ainsi Alep était à trois journées de Bir, c'est-à-dire de la frontière persane. Cette même influence devait s'exercer en Égypte.²²

Le médaillon central de la reliure d'un manuscrit de 1396²³ décoré de rinceaux de *rūmīs* en partie dorés, et autour duquel court un double filet d'or, procède de la croix plus clairement que celui du volume précité de 1386. Une inscription coufique de grande allure donne le nom de l'auteur et le titre de l'ouvrage: les Jardins des Vertueux, *Kitāb Riyāḏ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, du *Shāikh* Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Newī. Au siècle suivant, on ne rencontre plus que des inscriptions en caractères *sulus* ou *nesta'liq*.

Le scribe des *Jardins des Vertueux* est 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Sāyiq. Sur ses feuilles de

¹⁶ Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 2605.

¹⁷ "Journal des campagnes de Sélim I," dans Feridūn Bey, *Münsha'āt*, Ire édition, en turc, p. 446.

¹⁸ *Menākib-i Hünerwerān*, Istanbul, 1926, p. 68.

¹⁹ *Gireh-bend*, doit signifier enlumineur spécialisé, primitivement tout au moins, dans les entrelacs. Littéralement ce mot se traduit *qui lie les nœuds*, et sa formation est identique à *naksh-bend*, qui fait des peintures, peintre.

²⁰ G. Migeon et Arménag Bey Sakisian, *La Céramique d'Asie Mineure et de Constantinople du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1923, p. 35.

²¹ Hakluyt Society, *A narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, (Londres, 1873): *The Travels of a Merchant in*

Persia, pp. 142 et 143.

²² Dans sa *Description de six lampes de mosquée en verre émaillé*, Yacoub Artin Pacha, après avoir dit que l'art de l'émail sur verre fut introduit en Égypte par les Persans à la fin du XIII^e siècle, fait observer que sur les échantillons les plus anciens on voit des représentations d'être animés, tels qu'oiseaux, chimères ou d'arbres, de fruits etc., tandis que bientôt tout ce qui rappelle la vie à un degré quelconque disparaît de l'ornementation des lampes. Les fleurs mêmes, ajoute-t-il, prennent une forme rigide et héraldique, se conformant ainsi à l'esprit exclusivement sémitique des peuples musulmans de l'Ouest.

²³ Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 1565.

garde, comme c'est le cas pour un grand nombre de manuscrits qui ont séjourné en Turquie, on lit le mot cabalistique *Kebikedj*. C'est une invocation à un esprit auquel on prête le pouvoir de préserver les livres des vers. Cette mention se rencontre malheureusement souvent sur des volumes que les insectes ont percés à jour.

Le plat reproduit par la figure 7, offre un exemple encore plus caractéristique de médaillon cruciforme, mais il est du commencement du XV^e siècle et appartient à un volume non daté du Musée de l'Evkaf d'Istanbul, No. 1566.

La période mongole déborde, comme nous l'avons vu, sur le XV^e siècle, et c'est sous le règne de Sultan Aḥmed le Djalāiride (1382-1410), que se placent à Bagdad deux couvertures presque identiques,²⁴ qui représentent certainement le travail d'un même artiste, et qui sont au nombre des chefs-d'œuvres de la reliure persane (*Fig. 8*). L'une d'elles (No. 1549) est heureusement datée par le texte, de Bagdad "la place du salut," 1407, ce qui les situe toutes deux.

A cette date, l'ancienne capitale des Califes 'abbāsides, après être restée une douzaine d'années sous la domination de Tamerlan, se trouve reconquise par les Djalāirides, qui étaient des Mongols. Pendant la courte domination Tīmūride, qui prend fin en 1405-6, et qui a vu les ouvriers d'art de Bagdad transplantés à Samarkand, la capitale de Tamerlan, il ne peut forcément pas être question d'influence tīmūride. L'école du livre de Herāt²⁵ n'existe pas encore, d'ailleurs les reliures qui nous occupent sont très différentes des premières couvertures de Herāt; elles appartiennent bien à la période mongole, sans compter que ce type se maintient dans la Perse occidentale, jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle.

Les plats de ces reliures de Bagdad, sont à médaillon central étoilé à huit rayons, dérivé du cercle, sur cuir noir pour le premier et brun rouge pour le second. Une large bordure à décor floral naturaliste encadre les plats. L'ornementation comprend, en outre, des *rūmīs* et de petits nœuds, qui tiennent une place secondaire. Les coins intérieurs d'un plat de la seconde reliure offrent cette particularité d'être en triangle (*Fig. 8*), disposition qui rappelle le XIII^e et le début du XIV^e siècle. On lit en caractères *naskhī* au dos du second volume, qui est un recueil d'œuvres poétiques diverses, ces curieux vers persans:

Toutes les choses à dire ont été dites,

Ceux qui les ont dites, sont tous partis.

Ce qui est remarquable dans ces deux reliures, c'est leur polychromie intérieure. Tandis qu'à l'extérieur des filets d'or très sobres se détachent sur le maroquin noir ou brun rouge, à l'intérieur des plats et du rabat, lequel est entièrement décoré, le cuir havane est découpé sur fond gros bleu ou or, le contour étant bordé d'un gros liséré or. Ce mariage du havane clair, du gros bleu et de l'or est particulièrement heureux, en même temps que la décoration est de grand style.²⁶ C'est la seconde reliure qui réalise le maximum d'harmonie.

La première décoration florale que nous avons rencontré sur les reliures, était celle, stylisée, des *rūmīs*, qui sert de transition au décor floral naturaliste. Lorsque, comme sur

²⁴ Musée de l'Evkaf, No. 1549 et 1550.

²⁵ Voir *La Miniature Persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle* de l'auteur, chapitre VI.

²⁶ Voir pour la reproduction d'un de ces plats in-

térieurs, *Actes du Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art de 1921*, Paris, 1923, la pl. 18, fig. 1, de "La Reliure persane du XIV^e au XVII^e siècle" de l'auteur.

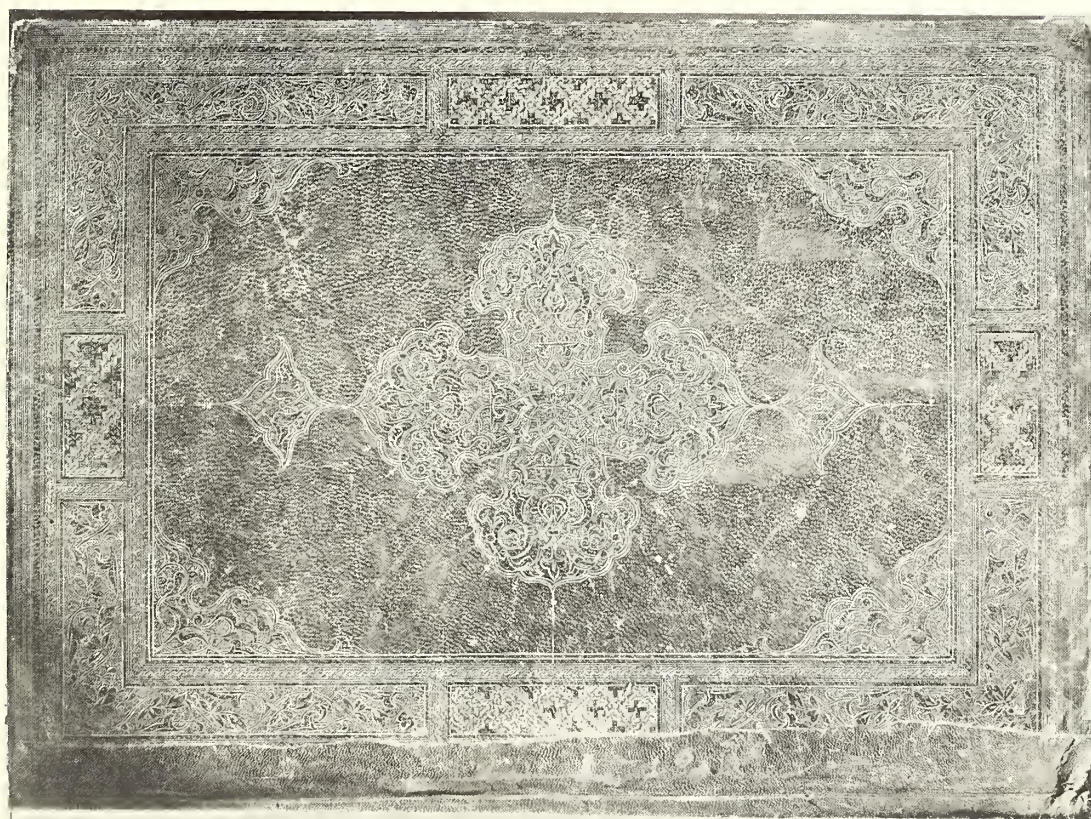
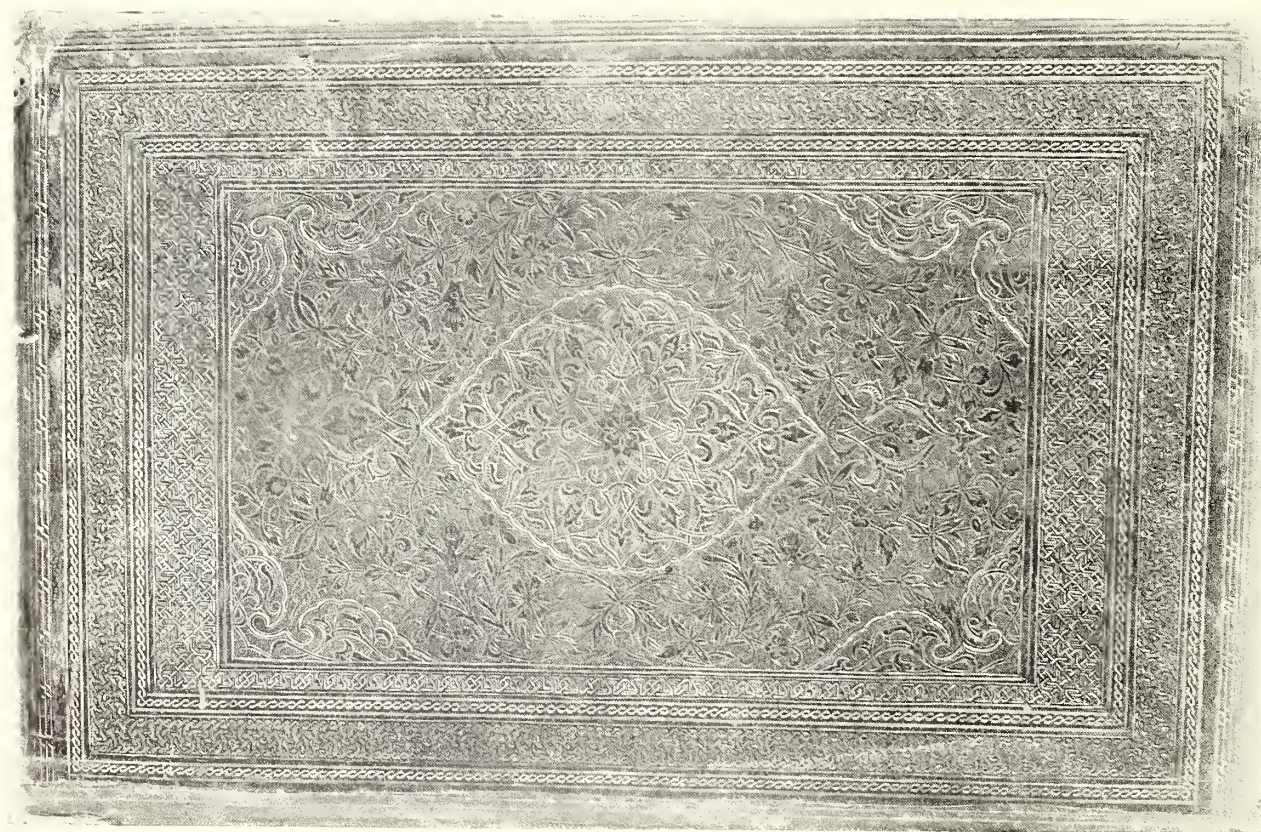
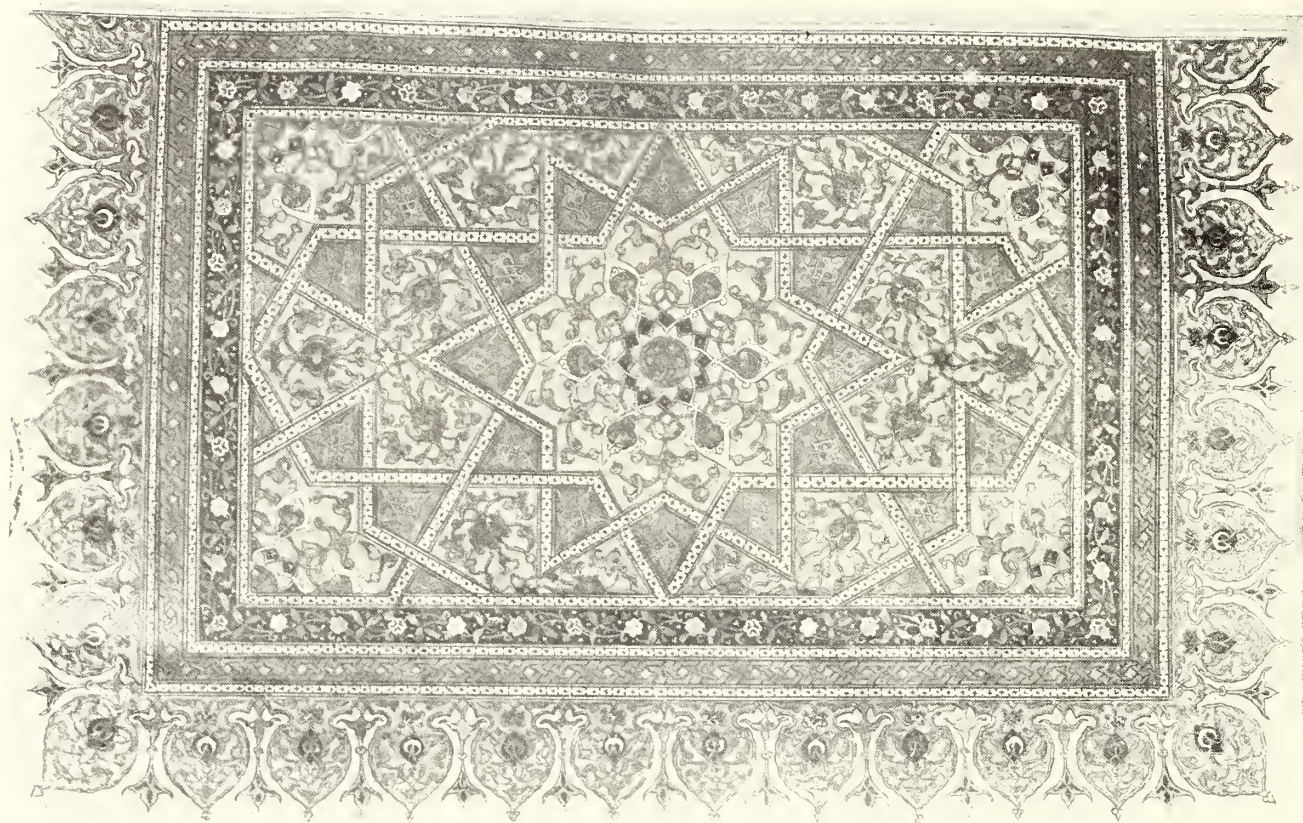


FIG. 7.—RELIURE À MÉDAILLON CENTRAL EN CROIX, DÉBUT XV^e SIÈCLE
ISTANBUL, MUSÉE DE L'EVKAF



FIG. 8.—INTÉRIEUR POLICHROME AJOURÉ AU RELIURE, BAGDAD 1407
ISTANBUL, MUSÉE DE L'EVKAF



FIGS. 9, 10.—RELIURE ET FRONTISPIECE ENLUMINÉ D'UN MS. AU NOM D'IBRAHÎM SULTAN
CHIRAZ 1429, ISTANBUL, BIBLIOTHÈQUE FEYZULLAH EFENDI

ces reliures de Bagdad, celui-ci se marie aux *rūmīs*, on voit par sa place qu'il est le dernier venu. Ainsi, régulièrement le cœur du médaillon central a un décor stylisé, c'est le bord du médaillon et la bande d'encadrement du plat qui sont ornés d'une flore imitée de la nature. A l'intérieur du rabat, c'est l'espace compris entre la rosace et les coins, et qui n'était pas décoré dans les reliures antérieures, qui reçoit une décoration florale naturaliste.

Comme on le voit par les exemples qui précèdent, au cours du XIV^e siècle, la reliure persane passe du type à rosace géométrique—cercle ou octogone—et à coins triangulaires, au médaillon central allongé et polylobé, et aux écoinçons représentant des quarts de médaillon. Entre ces deux types, dont le dernier deviendra classique, se place un médaillon central dérivé du cercle et partant moins élégant, qui sert de transition. On voit très clairement ce passage sur le contre-plat de la reliure de Tebriz de 1334, tandis que le plat droit de la couverture de *Shāberān* de 1379 (*Fig. 4*) offre un exemple élaboré de ce type de transition, auquel Chiraz reste fidèle au XV^e siècle.

La reliure de 1429 d'un manuscrit au nom d'Ibrāhīm Sultān de Chiraz, en offre un exemple (*Fig. 9*) de même que son frontispice enluminé (*Fig. 10*) se rattache à l'école mongole.²⁷

Les spécimens cités plus haut de médaillon central dérivant de la croix étaient de la fin du XIV^e et du début du XV^e siècle (*Fig. 7*), mais des écoinçons de ce type, qui supposent l'emploi du motif complet se rencontrent déjà sur la reliure de Tebriz de 1334 (*Fig. 3*) et se maintiennent au cours du XV^e siècle.²⁸ Une forme très répandue de croix arménienne qui peut remplir un carré ou un losange presque sans laisser de vides entre ses branches, semble avoir servi, avec l'adjonction de deux pointes, de modèle à ce type.

Quant au décor, au cours de la période que nous envisageons, il est d'abord, comme au XIII^e siècle, à cordons entrelacés, qui font l'effet d'un ornement vermiculé, surtout lorsqu'ils sont sans hachures. Le *rūmī*, feuille stylisée d'origine byzantine, dont nous avons constaté la présence sur une reliure de 1310, devient au cours du siècle le motif principal de décoration, comme sur la reliure de 1379 (*Figs. 4 et 5*). Même la flore naturaliste, d'inspiration chinoise, caractéristique des reliures du XV^e siècle, apparaît vers la fin du XIV^e, mais sans la finesse et l'élégance qui la distinguent au siècle suivant.

Au XIV^e siècle la reliure persane ignore la richesse des ors et la polychromie. Toutefois on assiste à de timides débuts. La reliure de Tebriz de 1334, signée Muḥammed 'Alī, a des lisérés et des points en or à l'intérieur du plat; celle de 1388 au nom du Calife Mutawakkil a le trait du décor en or sur le plat même et un liséré bleu entre deux filets d'or, enfin sur la reliure de 1396, les *rūmīs* qui décorent le plat ont des parties dorées.

C'est au début du XV^e siècle seulement qu'une polychromie, aussi savante qu'harmonieuse, de havane clair et d'or sur fond bleu s'affirme (*Fig. 8*) à l'intérieur de reliures de Bagdad.

²⁷ Bibliothèque Feyzulla Efendi d'Istanbul, No. 489.

²⁸ On retrouve à la Mosquée Bleue de Tebriz, qui remonte au milieu du XV^e siècle, des carreaux de faïence avec ce type de croix. F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, 1901, pl. XXIV.

Un tapis de M. Indjoudjian, à médaillon central en

croix, analogue à celui reproduit en couleurs par F. Sarre et H. Trenkwald dans *Anciens Tapis d'Orient*, sous le No. 32, est daté de 862 de l'Hégire, soit de 1459, ce qui semble aussi confirmer l'emploi de ce type de médaillon, antérieurement au XVI^e siècle.

FIVE EGYPTIAN TAPESTRY-WEAVINGS IN SWEDISH MUSEUMS

BY CARL JOHAN LAMM

IN 1930, DURING HIS VISIT TO CAIRO, THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN ACQUIRED A COLLECTION of Egyptian textiles which are now in the National Museum at Stockholm. Of these textiles, all of them fragments found in Egyptian tombs, three must be considered of special interest as they belong to the group of Egyptian tapestry-weavings which can be dated by their inscriptions. The deciphering of these texts will hardly be of such sensational character as the reading of the inscription on the veil of Saint Anne from the Cathedral of Apt, now in the Gobelin Museum at Paris, and which was made in an Egyptian factory for the Fāṭimid Khalif al-Musta'li about 1096 or 1097.¹ Nevertheless, at least one of the fragments in Stockholm presents points which to a considerable extent will enrich our knowledge of one of the most enchanting fields of textile art.² To these three texts two others will here be added: one, not datable by interior evidence, on a stuff in the Stockholm museum, the other, containing the name of a Khalif, on a fragment belonging to the Röhss Museum of Arts and Crafts at Gothenburg.³

The ground material of all these stuffs is linen, and the warp threads, of which the ornaments are woven by tapestry method, are in coloured silks. On two of the specimens the decoration is confined to an inscription in bold Kufic characters placed directly on the uncoloured gauzy ground, while on the other fragments the inscriptions are contained within narrow ornamental bands placed on the unbleached or green-coloured ground fabric.

The former stuffs (*Figs. 1 and 2*) are so closely related to each other that one can safely assume that they were produced at the same factory, perhaps at Tinnīs, near the present Port Said. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited that place in 1040, tells us that it contained about as many as five thousand looms. One of the most famous products of Tinnīs was the *qaṣabī*, an especially delicate quality of linen, white or coloured, perforated like a strainer, and used for turbans and ladies' garments. During the Fāṭimid period, an especially fine quality of *qaṣab* was manufactured in the Khalif's private *ṭirāz* at Tinnīs exclusively for the ruler's own use.⁴ It was neither sold nor bestowed upon meritorious persons as a grace of the Khalif, which latter must have generally been the case with such fragments of garments and veils that are found in Egyptian tombs and bear decorative inscriptions containing the name of the ruler.

¹ Notice by H. Heilmaier in *Pantheon*, Sept., 1933, p. 38.

² The entire collection is to be published by the author in the Year-book of the National Museum at Stockholm, 1933 (Late Hellenistic and Coptic textiles), and 1934 (Islamic textiles); the Arabic inscriptions will here be rendered in Swedish translation only. Another Islamic textile in the same museum, a border fragment

of a Persian carpet—shown at the exhibition in London—was put under debate in the 1930-31 volume of the same year-book, under the title "*A Miniature and a Rug. Studies on late Timurid grotesque Carpets from Herat.*"

³ Reproduced and discussed in the Museum's Year-book (1933).

⁴ Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe*, Berlin, 1927, p. 13.

The Khalif mentioned on these two fragments in Stockholm is not one of the shismatic Fāṭimids, but al-Muṭī' (946-974), the last 'Abbāsīd Khalif mentioned in the Friday prayers read in the mosques of Egypt before the political and spiritual suzerainty over that country was usurped in 969 by al-Mu'izz, the first of the Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt. These stuffs consequently must have been woven between 946 and 969, and the same is true of a fragmentary sleeve, in the Islamic Department of the Berlin Museums, which bears the following *ṭirāz*, executed in red characters, 4 cm. high:⁵

"In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Blessing of God and grace be to the Khalif, God's slave al-Muṭī' l'illāh, Commander of the faithful. May God prolong his existence!"

On one of the Stockholm fragments (*Fig. 1*) the inscription reads as follows:

"[In the name of God], the Merciful and Compassionate. al-Muṭī' l'illāh, [Commander of the faithful]."

On the second of the fabrics in Stockholm (*Fig. 2*) the inscription is of the same content as that on the sleeve fragment in Berlin, but the parts preserved begin with the *mīm* in *bi'sm* and end by the ṭā' in al-Muṭī'. The *mīm* of this name is curiously enough replaced by a *fā'* or a *qāf*, but still there can be no doubt that a *mīm*—which is the same sign placed not above, but on the level of the line—is really meant. The end of the inscriptions, in the rendering here proposed, is a conjecture based upon comparison with other inscriptions of about the same epoch having a Khalif's name preceded only by the almost unavoidable *bi'smīllāh*. Still it is of course not entirely excluded that a phrase of good wishes may have been added to the official title of the Khalif, in accordance with the Berlin inscription.

As was already mentioned, both fragments consist of gauzy, extremely delicate half-bleached linen. On the first-mentioned, the forceful Kufic characters, which have a height of not less than 17.5 cm., are woven in red silk, yellow having been used for the tops of the stems. On the last-mentioned fragment the corresponding colours are black and white, and the letters are 13.7 cm. high. Above the inscription is one of the original edges of the stuff here preserved; it consists of a red band bordered with white stripes and there is a fringe formed by the warp threads. In spite of the height of the letters and the original width of the fabric, this might form the decorated outer end of the stuff of a turban, applied in the way we recognize from figural representations on lustred potsherds found at Fustāṭ and dating from about the same period. Whereas on the numerous specimens dating from the XIth century the *ṭirāz* of the turbans is generally very short and placed vertically, some fragments which ought to be dated to the latter half of the Xth century, and especially one belonging to the Arabic Museum in Cairo,⁶ show wide turbans having a rather long *ṭirāz*, in a horizontal position.

As to their general artistic effect, the inscriptions on the fragments in Stockholm can

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 2631, p. 17, pl. 1; *Der Islam*, 1925, pp. 83 ff., Fig. 1.

⁶ Bahgat and Massoul, *La Céramique musulmane de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1930, pl. 18:3.

be compared with those on two silk fabrics of special importance:⁷ the "Suaire de Saint-Josse" in the Louvre, made in Khorāsān for the Ḳā'id Nektegīn (+961), and the tunic belonging to the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, which was manufactured, probably at Baghdad, for Abū Sa'id Zādān Farrūkh, treasurer of the Buwaihid prince Bahā' al-Dawla (989-1012).

Still more interesting than these two stuffs is another, of tawny, unbleached linen, in the National Museum at Stockholm, two small portions of which are preserved (*Fig. 3*). Each one has a similar decoration of two tapestry-woven bands in coloured silks with a row of elongated octagonal compartments. These are outlined in pale yellow and enclose a dog with a head resembling that of a hare, whose representations are pairwise confronted and executed in brick red on a dark green ground.⁸ On either side of the lower band is a contiguous border of the same green tint containing Arabic inscriptions in Kufic characters relieved by slender scrolls, all in pale yellow.

When the garment to which these fragments belong was made, the ornamental borders were mutilated in a way which makes a reconstruction, as regards the placing of the ornaments and inscriptions, a difficult matter. The schematical drawing reproduced in *Fig. 4* represents a hypothetical solution of this problem; the space separating the double bands cannot be estimated, but it must have been wider than what is shown on the drawing (*cf. Fig. 3*). The most questionable point in this reconstruction is the almost unparalleled way⁹ in which the two pairs of ornamental bands are placed reversely in order that the inscription might be read like a *bustrophedon*. For what original use this pattern was designed, is not known for certain, but on Coptic tunics one sometimes finds the lower part of the sleeves decorated with four bands of somewhat similar arrangement, without being completely engirdled. The intention cannot have been to place these double bands each on a sleeve, as in one case the inscription would then have commenced with the lower line.

If we accept the essential correctness of the reconstruction, the inscription can be read as follows:

"[In] the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. There is no God but God alone. Muḥammed is the Prophet of God, 'Alī the Vicar of God and (*sic*) may His grace and His blessings be on them both! And [. . .] on him. Help from God and immediate victory be on the servant [of God] and His Vicar 'Alī Abū'l-Ḥasan the Imām al-Z[ā]hir li-i'zāz Dīn Allāh, Commander of the faithful]."

The Fāṭimid Khalif mentioned in this inscription, al-Zāhir, son of the cruel al-Ḥākim, reigned in Egypt between A.D. 1021 and 1036. As far as I know, this is the only textile on which his name has been deciphered; on art objects it has so far only been found contained

⁷ *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1932, pp. 185 ff., Figs. A and D on p. 186.

⁸ A similar design, with other colouring, is to be found on a fragment published by Kühnel, *Islamische*

Stoffe, No. 3142, p. 20, pl. 4.

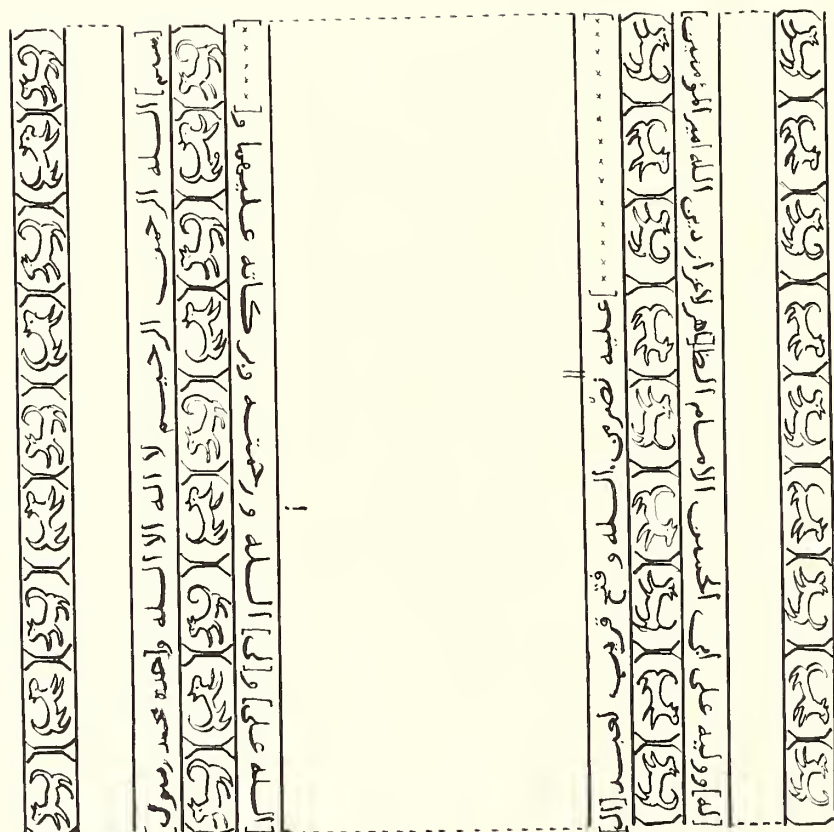
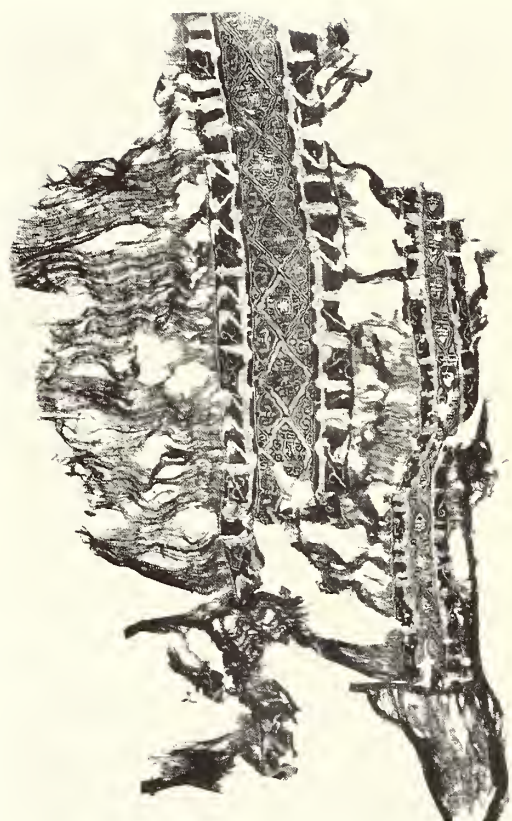
⁹ See, however, an Egyptian embroidery dating from the XIIth or XIIIth century published *ibid.*, No. 3171, p. 52, pl. 29.



FIGS. 1, 2—FRAGMENTS OF TAPESTRY-WEAVINGS, EGYPT
946-974 A.D., STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 3—FRAGMENTS OF A TAPESTRY-WEAVING, EGYPT
1021-1036 A.D., STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM



in a very short inscription decorating a lunette-shaped object in rock crystal, from the Palace Chapel in Vienna, now in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg.¹⁰

In a deplorable state of preservation is another fragment belonging to the National Museum in Stockholm (*Fig. 5*). The gauzy, linen ground-fabric is here of a dark green colour on which the tapestry-woven decoration stands out beautifully in dark blue, yellow, green, ivory white and black silks. It consists of two horizontal bands of different widths. The upper and broader has a series of diapers, whilst the lower and narrower contains a row of heart-shaped forms, all surfaces being filled with floral motives based upon whole and half *palmettos*, combined with scrolls. Both bands are on either side bordered with stripes containing Arabic inscriptions, the Kufic characters of which stand in ivory on dark blue grounds relieved by slender scrolls. The text contained in the lower band has so far resisted all attempts of interpretation,¹¹ although it may be supposed to be the continuation of that found in the upper one, which reads:¹²

"[In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.] There is no God but God alone. He has no partner. Muḥammed is the Prophet of God who (?) [... 'Alī is the Vicar of God], may God help them both! Help from God and immediate victory be to the servant [of God and His Vicar ...]"

Here the inscription is cut off, at the most interesting point where one would have been sure to find the name of the Khalif who bestowed the garment, of which this fragment forms part, to a dignitary, of unknown name. Will some of these secrets be unveiled by one able to read the text of the lower band in the upper line of which the name of God is several times to be read? One would expect to find here the names and titles of the son and successor of al-Zāhir, al-Mustaṣfir, who reigned from A.D. 1036 right up to 1094. This supposition is based upon the fact that the geometrical and floral designs of the broader band on the fragment here discussed are to be found in almost identical shape on a stuff carrying the name of this Fāṭimid Khalif. This fragment was shown by Messrs. Bacri Frères of Paris at the Munich Exhibition in 1910; its inscription, in two lines, has been published by van Berchem.¹³

Almost the same inscription is to be found on a fragment in the Röhss Museum at Gothenburg (*Fig. 6*). Here it reads:

"[In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. There is no God except God.] Muḥammed is the Prophet of God, 'Alī the Vicar of God, may God bless them both! Victory (or help) from God be to the servant of God and His Vicar Ma'add Abū Tamīm, the Imām al-Mustaṣfir bi'llāh, Commander of the faithful. Blessings from God be on him, on his an-

¹⁰ Sarre and Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, Munich, 1912, Vol. I, p. 1 (van Berchem), Vol. III, No. 2092, pl. 166; Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin, 1929 and 1930, Vol. I, p. 213, Vol. II, pl. 75:21.

¹¹ The shapes of the letters come out almost clearer on the photograph than on the original.

¹² The small portions seen on the photograph to the left of the upper line are not in their correct position.

¹³ Sarre and Martin, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 2 (van Berchem), Vol II, No. 2221, pl. 178.

cestors, the pure Imāms, and his descendants [to come, blessing lasting until the day of judgement].”

The final phrase is missing also on the stuff from the Bacri Frères Collection. The reading here given is hence a mere conjecture based upon the inscription on some wooden beams in the Arabic Museum at Cairo, where it is followed by the date corresponding to A.D. 1127.¹⁴ A date might as well, on the Gothenburg inscription, have occupied the space containing this conjectural phrase; this can be inferred from a weaving, portions of which are preserved in the Louvre and the Victoria and Albert Museum, where a date, read by Guest as A.H. 448 (=A.D. 1057), is placed at the end of the inscription, under the *bi'smi'llāh*.¹⁵

The same museum in London possesses three fragments of garments bearing the name of al-Mustanşir.¹⁶ Another stuff with an inscription mentioning this Khalif is in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.¹⁷

A palaeographic peculiarity of this inscription is the way in which the stems of the letters are placed on about equal distances with little regard to the ordinary shape of the characters.

This fragment is split into three portions and consists of unbleached linen with two horizontal bands in tapestry-woven coloured silks. The upper and narrower has a series of hexagons formed of buff-coloured bands and including pairs of birds and conventionalized floral devices in carmine red, black, green, and azure. The interstices are occupied by similar floral ornaments in light greyish green on black grounds.

The lower and broader band has a central zone like that just described, while the outer ones contain the inscription already discussed. The “creeping” Kufic stands in madder-red on a Prussian blue ground, relieved by buff scrolls.

The width so decorated—at about the middle of the XIth century—was placed between two plain widths of linen. Like the green fabric described above, it has probably formed part of the front piece of a tunic. Both stuffs are, in spite of their sad state of preservation, real gems of design and colouring which only a polychrome reproduction of the best quality would do full justice.

¹⁴ Weill, *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire. Les bois à épigraphes*, Cairo, 1931, No. 4389, pp. 51 f., pl. 13.

¹⁵ Guest, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1923, pp. 605 ff. with Fig.; Kendrick, *Catalogue of Mu-*

hammadan Textiles of the Medieval Period, London, 1924, No. 861, p. 10, pl. 6.

¹⁶ Kendrick, *ibid.*, Nos. 862 to 864, pp. 10 f., pl. 2.

¹⁷ Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe*, p. 23.

DAMASTE DER MAMLÜKENZEIT

VON J. HEINRICH SCHMIDT

ES IST NICHT SICHER, DASS DIE DAMASTWEBEREI, WIE AUS DEM NAMEN MEISTENS GESCHLOSSEN wird, in Damaskus entstand. Als Damaste wurden im Mittelalter verschiedene Stoffe, auch Brokate bezeichnet, die über Damaskus in den Handel gelangten. Es gibt in Persien vollendete Damastgewebe schon im Mittelalter (Seldjūkenzeit).¹ Dagegen fehlt für Syrien noch im späten Mittelalter (Mamlūkenepoche) die gesicherte Grundlage für die Einordnung der Damaste. Die arabische Bezeichnung für Damast *Kamkha* (daraus entstanden das italienische Camocuta) ist ein Wort des syrischen Dialekts. Danach dürfte Syrien für die Damastweberei von Bedeutung gewesen sein. Während bei der Betrachtung der emaillierten Gläser die überragende Stellung Syriens aus dem Grunde gesichert ist, weil der Rohstoff für die Glasbereitung und die Scherbenfunde dorthin weisen, kann man dies von der Seidenweberei nicht sagen. Die meisten der erhaltenen Damastgewebe stammen aus ägyptischen Gräbern. Dem Anschein nach hat Ägypten in der Damastweberei eine hervorragende Stelle eingenommen,² doch kann man noch nicht mit Sicherheit den Anteil Ägyptens von dem Syriens scheiden. In ähnlicher Weise wie man annehmen darf, dass Tauschierkünstler aus Mosul und Glasarbeiter aus Aleppo in die mamlūkischen Hofmanufakturen Ägyptens gezogen wurden, wird man auch mit der Übersiedlung syrischer Weber nach Ägypten rechnen müssen. Man darf auch den Tatbestand bei der Betrachtung der Seidenstoffe nicht unbedingt für die ägyptische Herkunft ins Feld führen, dass fast alle bekannten Stücke in ägyptischen Gräberfeldern gefunden wurden, da sich auch italienische, persische, türkische und chinesische Stoffe unter diesen Funden befinden.³

Es gibt eine Reihe von Damasten mit Inschriften mamlūkischer Herrscher. Wenn man auch zugeben muss, dass Stoffe mit blossen Eulogien auf die Herrscher, ohne deren Namen zu nennen, auch in anderen Manufakturen hergestellt sein können, so wird man kaum annehmen dürfen, dass solche Stücke die den Namen von Herrschern mit den zugehörigen Titeln nennen, anderswo als in den Werkstätten des Stammlandes entstanden sind. Bei der Bedeutung die den staatlichen Webemanufakturen in Ägypten seit der islamischen Eroberung zukam, wird man wohl damit rechnen dürfen, dass gerade diese Stücke in höfischen oder staatlichen Werkstätten hergestellt sind. Die im folgenden betrachteten Damaste, die aus ägyptischen Gräbern stammen, und zum Teil historische Inschriften tragen, dürfen mit einiger Sicherheit für das mamlūkische Ägypten in Anspruch genommen werden.

Ein zweifarbiger Damast (*Fig. 1*) mit Spitzoval-Rautengliederung (grüne Zeichnung auf gelblichem, vielleicht aus rotverblichenem Grund) stellt die Verbindung mit zwei ähnlich

¹ L. Ashton, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1931; *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, No. 38 K.L.

² E. Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Grä-*

bern, Berlin, 1927, S. 77 ff.

³ C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin, 1930, S. 259 ff.

gegliederten Seidenstoffen her, die allgemein als Erzeugnisse der ägyptischen Manufakturen angesehen werden.⁴ Die zu einer Palmette zusammengeschlossenen Räder der auf einem Palmettenansatz stehenden gegenständigen Pfauen im Spitzovalfeld sieht man in ähnlicher Form auf einem sizilischen Seidenstoff. Der Idee nach geht dieses Motiv auf die gegenständigen Tiere auf gesprengten Palmetten zurück, die im persischen Seidenstil besonders begünstigt wurden, aber auch auf ägyptischen Seidenstoffen der Fāṭimidenzeit, wahrscheinlich auf Grund persischer Anregungen Eingang fanden.⁵ Entscheidend für die ägyptische Herkunft ist jene kleinteilige geometrische Musterung der Stege der Spitzovalgliederung auf unserem Damast, die der Idee nach an die Musterung der ägyptischen Teppiche erinnert und ebenfalls auf ägyptischen Seidenstoffen seit der Fāṭimidenzeit anzutreffen ist.⁶ Die kleinen, in Richtung der beiden Achsen durchkreuzten Rauten auf den Stegen des Damasts sieht man in ausgeprägter Form auf ägyptischen Teppichen. Der Vergleich mit einem ägyptischen Brokat von ähnlichem Gliederungssystem, dessen Spitzovalgliederung auf den Stegen mit einem Schachbrettmuster gezeichnet ist, lässt erkennen, dass dieses Stilelement klar ausgeprägt in die Erscheinung tritt.⁷

Diese Stilelemente kamen auch dann noch zum Ausdruck, als sich der Übergang von der geschlossenen zu freien Gliederungen vollzogen hatte. Ein besonders anschauliches Beispiel für diesen Vorgang ist ein blauer Damast, dessen aus einem Rautenschema bestehendes Muster durch die Umbildung der Rautenblätter zu Vierpässen aus Gabelblättern einen ganz anderen Charakter erhält (Fig. 2).⁸ Die auf den Stegen zwischen den Vielpässen angebrachten Naskhī-inschriften "dem Hochedlen" darf man vielleicht auf die Mamlūken-sultane beziehen, die den Beinamen trugen. Es sind ihrer allerdings eine ganze Reihe und man darf diese Bezeichnung nicht mit einem bestimmten Herrscher in Verbindung bringen, doch handelt es sich um Sultane aus dem späteren Mittelalter.

⁴ Islamische Kunstabteilung, Staatl. Mus. Berlin, J. 3190. Gr. 73: 48 cm., Rapp. 32, 6: 18, 5 cm. Muster: Rautengliederung aus vertikalen Wellen (Spitzovalschema) als Flechtbandsystem. In den Rautenfeldern gegenständige zu Palmetten zusammengeschlossene Pfauen, auf den mit kleinen Rauten gemusterten Stegen Flechtbandschlingen mit Kilins bzw. rückenständigen Vögeln. Farben: Grund, goldgelb (ursprünglich rot); Zeichnung, grün. Bindung: Grund, Kettatlas; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung. Material: Wenig gedrehte Seide, in der Kette dünnere Fäden, im Schuss dickere. Erhaltung: z.T. zerrissen. Vgl. E. Kühnel, a.a.O., S. 78; Pfauen vgl. O. v. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, Fig. 205.

⁵ Vgl. O. v. Falke, a.a.O., Fig. 166; J. Lessing, *Die Gewebesammlung der kgl. Museen*, Berlin, 1900, Bd. 1, Tafel 4; J. H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1929, Fig. 4 u. 5.

⁶ Vgl. F. Sarre, *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, S. 19 ff; J. H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*,

Fig. 6.

⁷ W. v. Bode und E. Kühnel, *Vorderasiatische Knüpfteppiche*, Berlin, 1922, Fig. 89; O. v. Falke, a.a.O., Fig. 363.

⁸ A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of the Muhammadan Textiles of the Medieval Period*, London, 1924, No. 963, pl. XI; Gleiche Stücke: Berlin, Islamische Kunstabteilung, J. 3223, Schlossmuseum '98, 297, '99, 107. Muster: Rautengliederung mit Vierpässen aus Gabelblättern (darin Lotosrosetten), kleinen Vielpässen auf den Schnittpunkten der Diagonalen und Naskhī-inschriften auf den Stegen. Farben: Preussisch-Blau. Bindung: Grund, Köper; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung. Erhaltung: aus mehreren Stücken zusammengesetzt. Syrisches Band, vgl. E. Herzfeld, *Jahrbuch d. Pr. Kunstsammlung*, 1921; C. J. Lamm, a.a.O., Tafel 126, 2. Syrische Gabelblätter, Tafel 114, 4 und 6 u.a. Ähnliche Form der Gabelblätter auf einer ägyptischen Wirkarbeit, vgl. E. Kühnel, a.a.O., Tafel 46b. Vgl. ähnliche Stücke der gleichen webtechnischen Gattung ebenda J. 3222a.



FIG. 1—DAMAST, ÄGYPTEN XIII JAHRH., BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

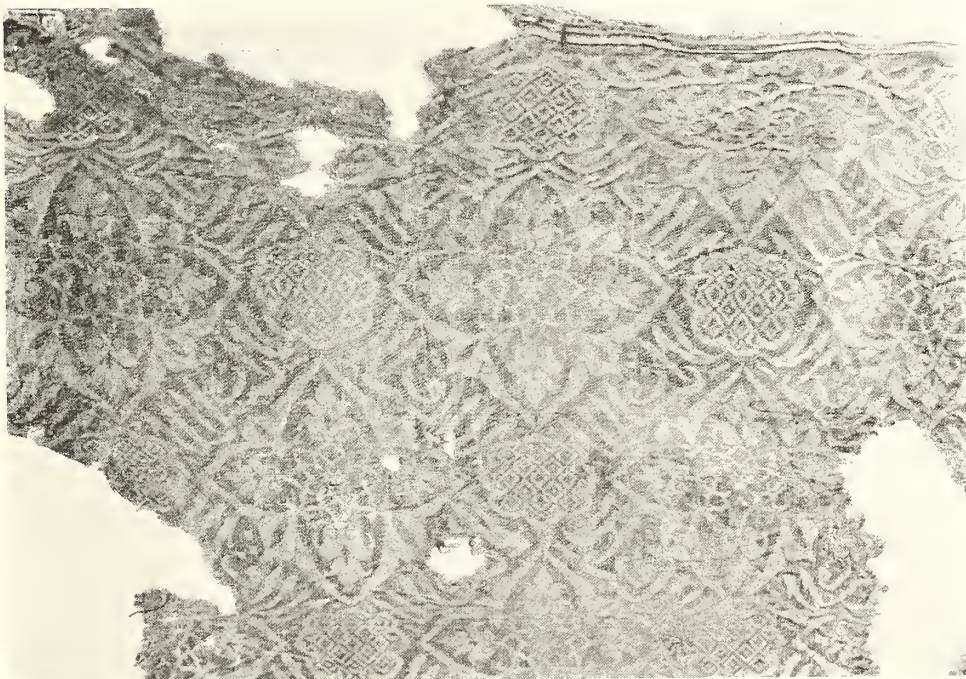


FIG. 2—DAMAST, ÄGYPTEN XIV-XV JAHRH., LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

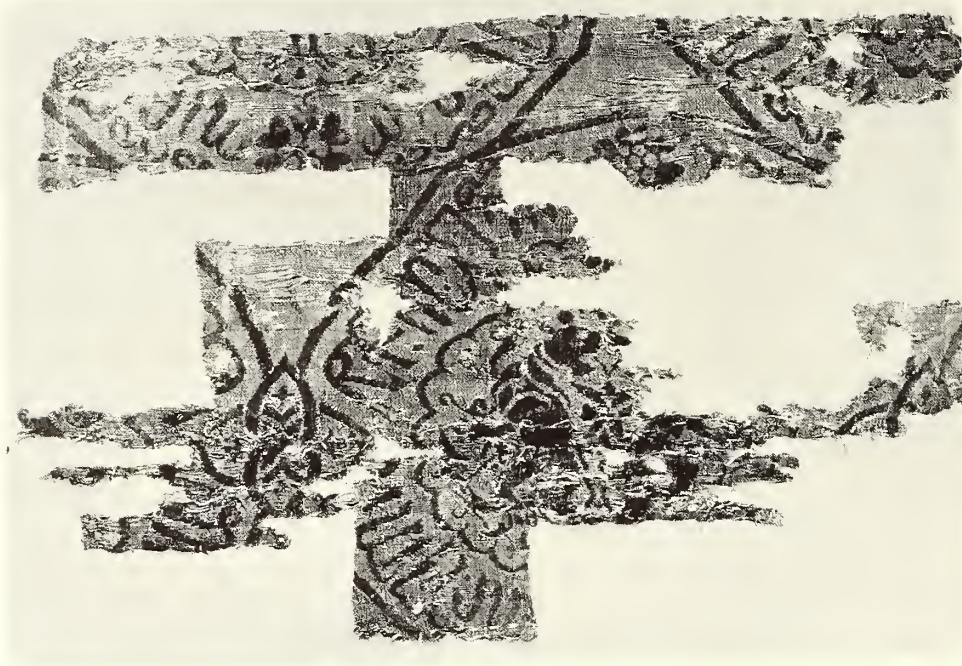


FIG. 3—DAMAST, ÄGYPTEN XIII-XIV JAHRH., BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 4—SKIZZE DES MUSTERS VON FIG. 3

Ein blauer, durch ein Flechtbandsystem gegliederter Damast (*Figs. 3, 4*), mit rückenständigen Panthern in achteckigen Feldern und einer umlaufenden Schriftborte führt noch deutlicher die Auflockerung des starren geschlossenen Gliederungssystems vor Augen. Die ersten Anzeichen dafür kann man in den oben besprochenen Spitzovalgliederungen feststellen, die durch kleine Bandösen mit den Kilins auf den Stegen als Flechtbandsysteme gekennzeichnet sind. Dieser Damast erinnert an einen Brokat mit rückenständigen Panthern in einem Kassettensystem, das zu ägyptischen Holzkassetten in Beziehung steht.⁹ Ein anderes Stück, das der gesamten Anlage nach dem Damast ebenfalls nahek kommt, ist ein Seidenstoff mit Kilins in Kreisen, die durch kassettenartige Gebilde und Rosetten verbunden sind. Beide Stücke sind noch klassische Beispiele der geschlossenen Gliederungsform.

Der entscheidende Schritt zur freien Textilgliederung wurde getan als man auf die zeichnerische Andeutung der geometrischen Grundlage verzichtete und grosse Blatt- und Blütengebilde frei über die Fläche verteilte. Die Anregung dazu gaben die chinesischen Seidenstoffe. Eine etwas unbeholfene Lösung der neuen Flächenaufteilung, in der noch nicht die freie Ranke zum gliedernden Element wird, sieht man auf einem blauen Damast (*Fig. 5*) mit grossen Weinblättern in horizontalen Zonen mit versetzter Achse, die durch Blattranken untereinander verbunden sind. Diese sind nicht gerade sehr vegetabil bewegt und stehen in keinem klaren Verhältnis zu den Weinblättern.¹¹

Ihre eigentliche künstlerische Vollendung haben diese Damaste mit freierer Gliederung scheinbar unter der Regierung des Sultans Muḥammed al-Nāṣir, des Sohnes von Ḳalā'ūn erhalten. Dafür sprechen einige durch Inschriften für seine Epoche bezeugte Stücke, von denen drei verschiedene Beispiele von höchster künstlerischer Qualität bekannt sind. Das erste Stück, ein ockerfarbener Damast (*Fig. 6*), besteht aus grossen Lotuspalmetten, die in Zonen einmal nach rechts einmal nach links mit versetzter Achse in die Diagonale gestellt sind. Aus den Lotuspalmetten, die in der Mitte in kleinen zwiebförmigen Medaillons Hasen und Hähne enthalten, wachsen seitlich Lanzettblätter heraus. Die Inschrift hat den gleichen Wortlaut wie auf dem bekannten blaugrünen Damast mit derartigen grossen Lotuspalmetten in Rankenwerk, dessen Gliederung mit Hilfe von frei über die Fläche verteilten Spiral- und Wellengebilden zuerst im Sinne der chinesischen Gewebe folgerichtig durchgeführt wurde.¹²

⁹ J. 3211. Gr. 18: 30 cm., Rapp. 17: 10 cm. Muster: Flechtbandgliederung mit grossem, durch Vierpassschlaufen gekuppelten zwölfckigen Feldern, darin rückenständige Panther, rundherum Sulustext, in rechtlaufender Schrift und in Spiegelschrift. Farben: Grund, hellblau; Zeichnung, dunkelblau. Bindung: Grund, Kettatlas; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung. Material: Seide. Erhaltung: sehr zerrissen. Das Stück ist mit der Rückseite nach oben aufgenäht. Vgl. O. v. Falke, Fig. 365 (aus Katalonien).

¹⁰ Vgl. O. v. Falke, a.a.O., Fig. 364; J. Lessing, a.a.O., Tafel 121b, Schlossmuseum '98, 273. Gr. 25: 18 cm.,

Rapp. 27: 18 cm. Vgl. Victoria und Albert Museum, Photo 46145; aus Dronka bei Siut.

¹¹ J. 3195. Gr. 36: 38 cm., Rapp. 15, 5: 16, 5 cm. Muster: Grosse Weinblätter in Zonen mit versetzter Achse verbunden durch Ranken mit kleinen stilisierten Blättern. Farben: Grund, ultrablau; Zeichnung, hellblau. Bindung: Grund, Kettatlas; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung. Material: Seide. Erhaltung: z.T. zerrissen. Vgl. O. v. Falke, a.a.O., Bd. 2, Fig. 333.

¹² J. 3214. Gr. 21: 10 cm., Rapp. 12: 12 cm. Muster: Lotuspalmetten in Zonen mit versetzter Achse, reihenweise wechselnd, nach links und rechts in die Diagonale

Eins der eigentümlichsten Stücke dieser Gruppe besitzt das Arabische Museum in Kairo (*Figs. 7, 8*). Das Muster besteht aus Ornamentgebilden, die an Kornähren erinnern.¹³ Diese sind in Reihen wechselnd nach links und rechts in Spiralen aufgerollt, die in vertikaler Richtung untereinander verbunden sind. An den Stellen, wo sich die Spiralen berühren oder einander am nächsten sind, sind kleine Kreise angeordnet mit einzelnen Worten, die in einem Sinnzusammenhang stehen. Der Text der Inschrift lautet: "Ruhm unserem Herrn, dem Sultan, dem König al-Nāṣir, dem Verteidiger des religiösen Gesetzes, dem Bezwiner der Irrlehre, Muḥammed, Sohn von Ḳalā'ūn. Gott lasse seine Herrschaft ewig währen und verleihe seinem Königreich Dauer." Der erste Teil der Inschrift ist genau so abgefasst wie auf den bekannten Damasten mit Inschriften auf Muḥammed al-Nāṣir. Im übrigen enthält die Inschrift Eulogien, die in dieser Fassung in mamlūkischen Inschriften seltener vorkommen.

Noch grössere Freiheit in der Gliederung zeigt ein ockergelber Seidendamast mit Lotusblumen in Spiralkanen, die an vertikalen Wellenbändern ansetzen (*Fig. 9*).¹⁴ Es ist ein sehr festes Gewebe mit grüner Webekante, der Stil der Blätter ist dem der Blätter auf dem Damast mit den grossen Weinblättern ähnlich,¹⁵ dem dieses Stück auch in der nicht gerade flüssigen Rankenführung nahesteht. Während man in den meisten Fällen keine Anhaltspunkte dafür hat wie die Stoffe verwendet wurden, kennt man von diesen Damasten wenigstens einige, die das ursprüngliche Bekleidungsstück in den Grundformen erkennen lassen, so z. B. eine Art Tunika im Arabischen Museum (*Figs. 10, 11*).¹⁶ Das Muster, das den Stücken der Epoche des Muḥammed al-Nāṣir nahesteht, lässt erkennen, dass man grundsätzlich keineswegs auf die geometrische Gebundenheit in der Gliederung verzichtete. Der Zeichnung liegt ein Rautenschema zu Grunde, dessen Ueberschneidungen durch Mondsicheln gekennzeichnet sind. Die Rautenfelder sind ausgefüllt von den bekannten, von der Lotosblume abgeleiteten Spitzovalmedaillons. Auf den Stegen des Rautenschemas sind Fische angeordnet.

gestellt. In den Palmetten umlaufende Naskhī-inschrift und in der Mitte in den Reihen wechselnd, kleine Hasen und Hähne. Farben: lichtocker. Bindung: Grund, Kettatlas; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung. Erhaltung: Die Stücke sind spitzovale Fragmente, die offenbar zu einer Kopfbedeckung zugeschnitten waren. Schadhaf und fleckig. Die Inschrift (gelesen von E. Kühnel, a.a.O., S. 77) hat den gleichen Wortlaut wie auf dem Damast des Schlossmuseums, O. v. Falke, a.a.O., Bd. 2, Fig. 366. Andere Stücke dieses zum Vergleich herangezogenen Stoffes in London, Victoria und Albert Museum (Kendrick, a.a.O., Nr. 957, Tafel 12), und Kairo, Arabisches Museum, Nr. 2226.

¹³ Kairo, Arabisches Museum, Nr. 3899. Gr. 50: 25 cm., Rapp. ca. 22: 11 cm. Muster: In den Reihen wechselnd nach rechts und nach links eingerollte Spiralen mit Ähren und kleinen Kreisen an den Berührungspunkten der Spiralen, die fortlaufend einen Naskhītext enthalten. Farben: gelb. Bindung: Grund, Kettatlas; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung. Erhaltung: Aus mehreren, für ein Gewand zugeschnittenen Stücken zusammengenäht. Sehr zerrissen. Beim Lesen der Inschrift war mir Herr Prof. G. Wiet behilflich, dem ich auch für die Photographien zu Dank verpflichtet bin.

¹⁴ J. 3193. Gr. 70: 36 cm., Rapp. 12,5: 9 cm. Muster: Vertikale Wellenranken, an denen nach rechts und links Lotosblumen und stilisierte Blätter an spiralförmigen Stengeln ansetzen. Farben: Grund, sandgrau (Kette) Zeichnung, stumpfocker (grünlichgelbe Schüsse). Bindung: Grund, Kettatlas; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung (ripsartig). Erhaltung: Aus mehreren Stücken zusammengenäht, sehr zerrissen.

¹⁵ Vgl. Fig. 5.

¹⁶ Kairo, Arabisches Museum, Nr. 3714. Gr. 77: 57 cm., Rapp. ca. 24: 24 cm. Muster: Zonen von Lotospalmetten und Mondsicheln in Reihen mit versetzter Achse (beide Naskhī-inschriften), eine offene Rautengliederung darstellend mit Fischen auf den Stegen der Rauten. Farben: gelb. Bindung: Grund, Kettatlas; Zeichnung, Leinenbindung. Material: Seide. Erhaltung: zur Tunika verarbeitet. Sehr zerrissen. Bem.: Die Inschrift in den Lotospalmetten wiederholt recto und spiegelverkehrt das Wort: der Sultan, die in den Mondsicheln: der König. Vgl. Fische auf einem persischen Stoff der Seldjūkenzeit in der Sammlung G. H. Myers in Washington, auf einem des Can Grande della Scala in Verona, Museo Civico und auf emaillierten Gläsern. Lamm, a.a.O., Tafel 164, 166, 167, 179 u.a.



FIG. 5—DAMAST, ÄGYPTEN XIII–XIV JAHRH.
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 6—SKIZZE DES MUSTERS EINES DAMASTS, ÄGYPTEN
XIII–XIV JAHRH., BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

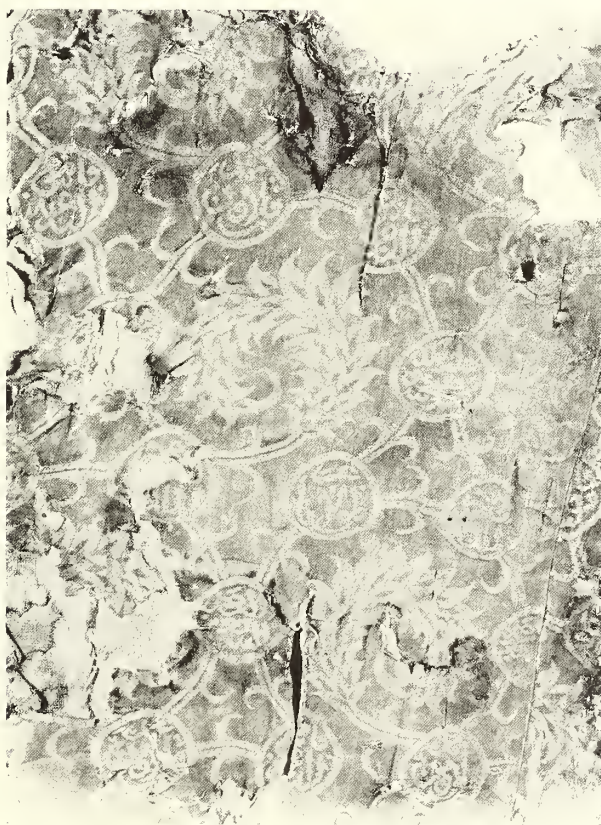


FIG. 7—DAMAST, ÄGYPTEN XIII–XIV JAHRH.
KAIRO, ARABISCHES MUSEUM

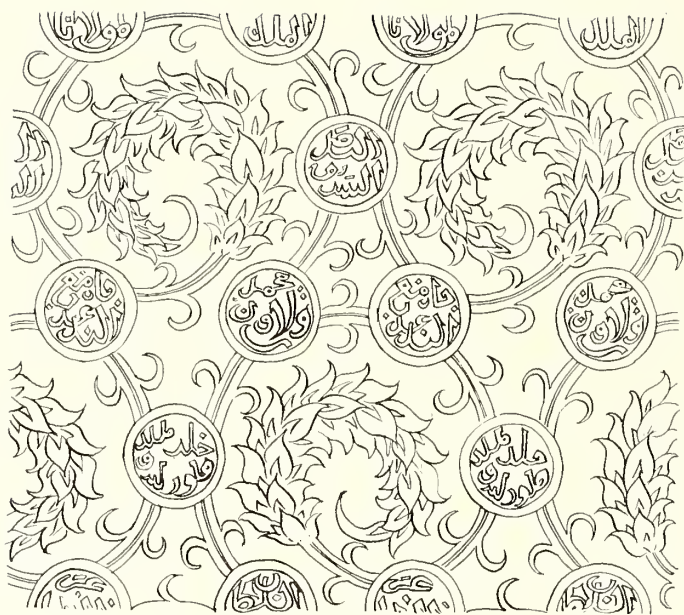


FIG. 8—SKIZZE DES MUSTERS VON FIG. 7



FIG. 9—DAMAST, ÄGYPTEN XIV-XV JAHRH., BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 10—TUNIKA AUS DAMAST, ÄGYPTEN XIV-XV JAHRH., KAIRO, ARABISCHES MUSEUM



FIG. 11—SKIZZE DES MUSTERS VON FIG. 10



FIG. 12—MÜTZE AUS EINEM SEIDENSTOFF, SYRIEN (?) XIII-XIV JAHRH.,
PARIS, SAMMLUNG BACRI

Die Schriftkartuschen der Mondsichel und des grossen Medaillons enthalten keine historische Inschrift. Es werden nur Worte wie: "Der König, der Sultan" wiederholt, in richtiger Folge und in Spiegelschrift. Beim Zuschneiden des Stoffes für das Gewand ist keine Rücksicht auf die Zeichnung genommen. Das kann man auch in anderen Fällen beobachten: die Teile eines obengenannten Damasts, die vermutlich zu einer Mütze gehörten, sind ebenso wahllos ausgeschnitten. Wie eine solche Mütze aussah und wie rücksichtslos auch hier der Stoff zugeschnitten wurde, zeigt eine Mütze im Pariser Kunsthandel (*Fig. 12*), die aus einem Streifenstoff gefertigt ist, mit weisser Zeichnung auf schwarzem Grund. Die Folge der Streifen besteht aus einer Reihe mit Naskhī-schrift, einer Reihe Mondsicheln und einem Fries von gejagtem Wild. In der Islamischen Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin befindet sich auch ein Streifenstoff. Der Stil der Schrift ist wesentlich anders, doch kann man kaum verkennen, dass die Tierfriese auf beiden Stoffen nahe verwandt sind. Die Inschrift gibt immerhin einen Hinweis auf den Mamlükensultan Muḥammed al-Nāṣir, denn sie lautet: "Ruhm unserm Herrn, dem Sultan, dem König, al-Nāṣir." Obwohl dieser Stoff in Ägypten gefunden ist, ist es zweifelhaft, dass man ihn für Ägypten in Anspruch nehmen darf. Die Schrift lässt zweifellos paläographische Beziehungen erkennen zu dem sogenannten Mamlükenbrokaten, jenen gestreiften Stoffen mit Eulogien auf den Sultan, die im Mittelalter mit Vorliebe zu Kaseln verarbeitet wurden, von denen noch eine stattliche Anzahl in der Marienkirche in Danzig erhalten ist. Ein solcher Brokat soll in dem Inventar von Cambrai als "*Drap d'or de Damas*" bezeichnet sein, womit ein eindeutiger Hinweis auf Syrien gegeben ist. Paläographisch steht der Naskhīduktus auch einem schon früher für Syrien in Anspruch genommenen gestreiften Stoff des Victoria und Albert Museums nahe.¹⁸

Leider kann man von den Gewebearbeiten der Damaste keine sichere Schlüsse auf die Herkunft ziehen. Die Damastgewebe mit Inschriften auf den Mamlükensultan Muḥammed al-Nāṣir sind Kettatlasgewebe. Die Damastwirkung entsteht meistens dadurch, dass das Muster in Leinenbindung eingebunden ist. Es gibt indes auch ägyptische Damaste, deren Muster auf dem Wechsel anderer Bindungsarten beruht. Auch das Grundgewebe, das zwar meistens aus Kettatlas besteht, ist nicht immer gleich. Einer der betrachteten Stoffe hat als Grund ein festes Köpergewebe. In einem anderen Fall steht die Zeichnung in Köper auf Kettatlas oder in Leinenbindung auf geköpertem Grund. Die Frage des Materials und der Webetechnik kann also nicht entscheidend sein, zumal man weiss, dass syrische Weber in Ägypten arbeiteten. Aus dem gleichen Grunde ist die stilkritische Untersuchung des Ornaments noch solange problematisch als es an gesicherten syrischen Damasten fehlt. Hier kann nur angedeutet werden, dass ähnlich, wie oben der Versuch gemacht wurde, paläographische Unterschiede festzustellen, auch schon früher eine Gruppe von Damasten als ägyptisch oder syrisch bezeichnet wurde, die sich stilistisch von den ägyptischen Stücken abhoben. Diese Fragen erfordern in des noch besondere Studien.¹⁹

¹⁷ Paris, Gebr. Bacri. Gr. ca. 20: 20 cm. Muster: Folge von Streifen mit 1) jagendem Wild, 2) Mondsicheln, 3) Naskhī-inschriften. Farben: Zeichnung, weiss; Grund, schwarz. Bindung: Köper. Material: Seide. Erhaltung: Nur eine Hälfte der Mütze vorhanden.

¹⁸ Vgl. E. Kühnel, a.a.O., Tafel 48; A. F. Kendrick,

a.a.O., Nr. 959, pl. 10.

¹⁹ O. v. Falke, *Ausstellung von Kirchengewändern aus Seidenstoffen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1911, Nr. 22; O. Mannowski, *Die Paramente der Marienkirche zu Danzig*, Berlin, 1932, Vol. II, No. 6887.

SOME RECENTLY DISCOVERED SELDĠŪK STUCCO BY ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

THERE HAS BEEN A GOOD DEAL OF DISCUSSION THESE LAST FEW YEARS, THOUGH LITTLE OF IT has yet appeared in print, concerning Persian medieval stucco ornament. Three almost complete panels of considerable size have come to light since 1926,¹ and a fourth that is perhaps 30 per cent complete. Other smaller panels and fragments have been known for years; besides, a number of single whole figures, and several heads have come onto the market in the last ten years. Although the larger panels are of great beauty and interest, the detached figures, particularly the smaller ones, are often unconscionably ugly and confirm the impression that the theological prohibitions of the figural art, reinforcing a natural disposition, effectively prevented any proper development of the art of sculpture in Persia. Some of the figures on the large panels, however, are of real grace and charm and the ornament, particularly the calligraphy, is rich, varied, and of high quality.

The specialists in ornament and calligraphy have hence found these panels of intense interest, enlarging as they do our all-too meagre repertoire of SeldĠŪk ornament. That some scholars have found the ornament surprising is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the rôle that stucco has played in Persian architecture and decoration. The surprising fact is, not that such large stucco panels should have been found, but that they had not been found oftener and put on the market sooner.

From Parthian and Sasanian times to the present a lavish use of stucco ornament has been an essential feature on practically every building of importance. Several tons of Sasanian stucco, most of it hopelessly fragmentary, were recovered at two different sites near Werāmīn as far back as 1915. They were held by the local dealers to be of no value, but fortunately were not destroyed. The finest pieces of one of these lots ultimately reached the Berlin Museum, and are now well known to scholars. From the other site a nearly intact panel was made up, now in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, a magnificent ensemble of Sasanian ornament of first class historical and aesthetic importance.

The Pennsylvania Sasanian panel also caused surprise when it was first shown, on the part of some of the more conservative scholars who were insufficiently informed about Sasanian ornament; but the discovery of this panel was followed a few years later by several excavations under archaeological conditions which uncovered masses of similar stucco. The Oxford-Field expedition at Kish in 1930 and 1931 excavated masses of stucco, which are now in the Field Museum in Chicago, many parts of which were practically identical with elements in the Pennsylvania panel. More and more similar stucco was found by D. Talbot Rice

¹ One is in the Pennsylvania Museum, another in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, published by Dr. Sarre in *Pantheon*, and the third is in the possession of Stora in Paris. It was at the London Exhibition of Per-

sian Art, *Catalogue*, No. 37. The Pennsylvania and the Stora panels have been published by M. Gaston Wiet in *Syria*, 1931, pp. 71, 2.



FIG. 3.—MIHRĀB, BEZŪN, IMĀM ZĀDE 1133/34 A.D.
(PHOTO POPE)



FIGS. 1, 2.—FRAGMENTS OF STUCCO PANELS, SĀWA XI CENTURY
PARIS, RABENOU FRÈRES

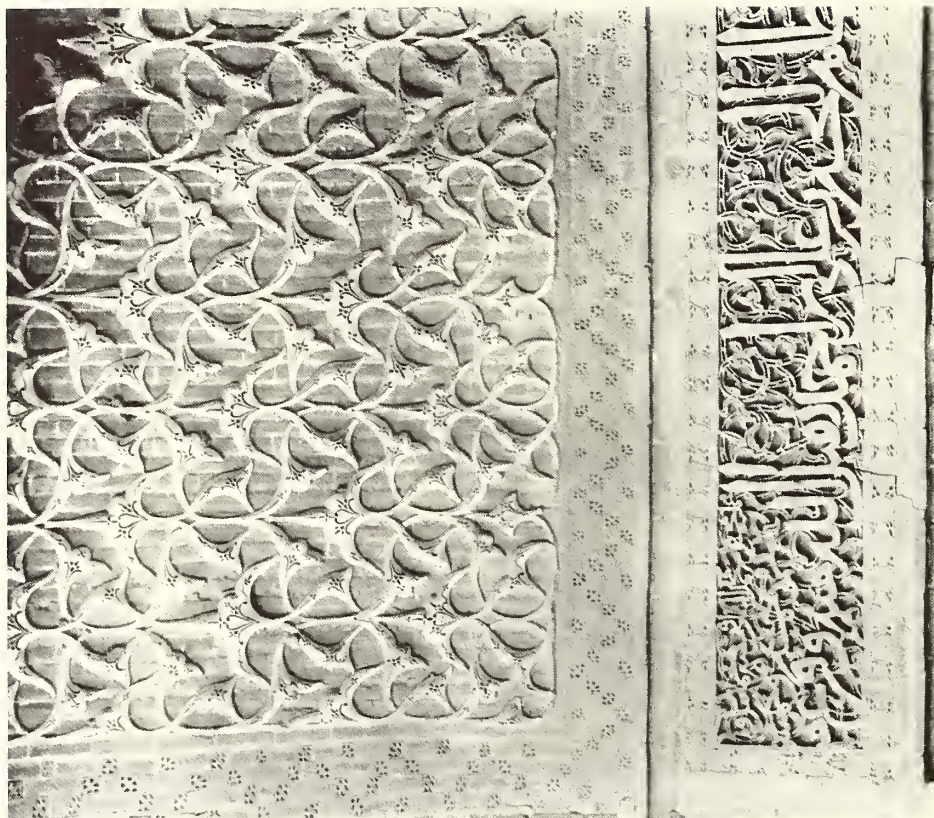


FIG. 5—PART OF THE STUCCO ORNAMENT OF ENTRANCE VAULT, ARDISTÂN,
MASDĪD-I DJĀMI, 1133 A.D.
(PHOTO POPE)

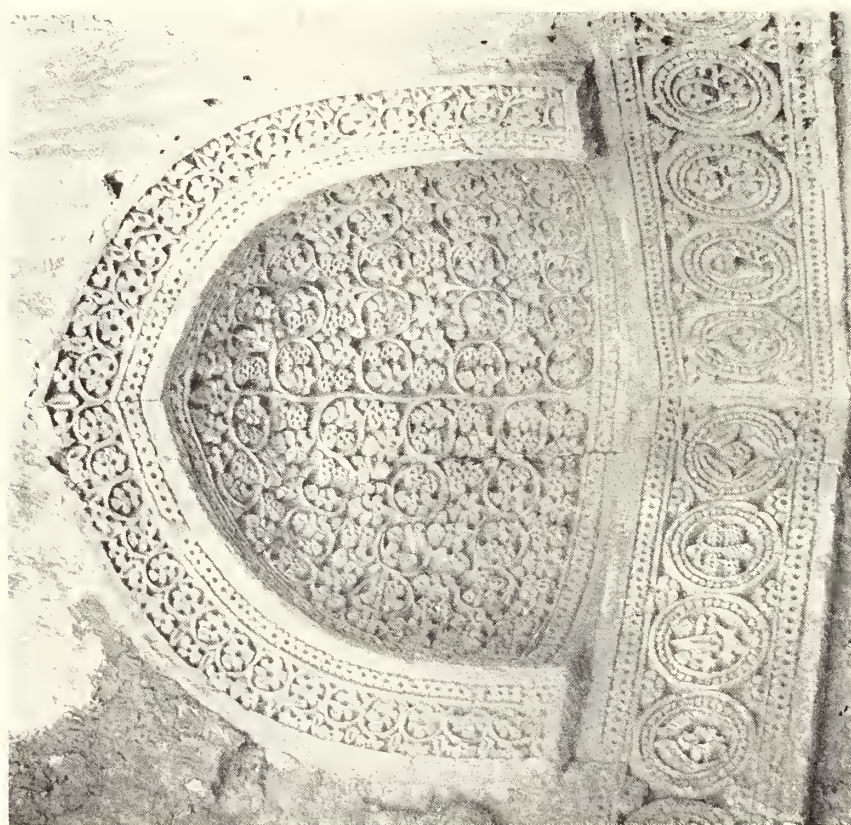


FIG. 4—SQUINCH, BEZŪN, IMĀM ZĀDE 1133/34 A.D.
(PHOTO POPE)

at Hīra, in 1932, which is now in the Ashmolean Museum, while Dr. Erich Schmidt, working for the Joint Expedition at Dāmghān in 1931, found still more, of an earlier period and of superb quality. This material is now divided between the Teheran Museum and the Pennsylvania Museum. A number of the Dāmghān plaques were also almost identical with parts of the Pennsylvania piece. Now that stucco has acquired a status, a few more pieces occasionally reach the Teheran market, often of great beauty, such as the Sasanian plaque with confronted leaping goats acquired by the Louvre.

That stucco revetments continued to be a feature of architectural decoration was shown by the discovery of stucco by commercial diggers at Sāwa in 1929. Again great masses of stucco were uncovered of which only a fairly small proportion was complete enough to be presentable, apparently only about a third of the lower part of a long panel being found intact. Dr. Flury, who has made a study of the Kufic inscription on the Sāwa pieces, dates them in the XIth century (*Figs. 1, 2*).

Investigation in Persia shows that stucco has been continuously found by commercial diggers, particularly at Rayy, for a generation, but that almost without exception it has been merely ornamental, and being of a cheap material, without figures, and very fragmentary, no one has thought it worth marketing. Shortly before the Seldjūk panel now in the Pennsylvania Museum was found and within a few yards of it, the digger, a certain Zāl Khān, who was searching for pottery, came upon a mass of stucco ornament, parts of which were heavily gilded. The whole lot was put through the furnace and about £7 worth of gold was salvaged, a profitable transaction, the owner thought.

The discovery about twenty years ago of several complete human figures which had found a ready sale² had taught the diggers that figures, even in this lowly material, did have a value and it is to that circumstance that we owe the preservation of the three large panels and various fragments that are now in museums and in the trade. The Pennsylvania panel and one in the possession of Stora Frères were recovered at Rayy and the piece in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, at Sāwa.

But it is likewise to the proven worth of stucco human figures that we owe also the fabrication of several examples that have been noted, for when no more were readily forthcoming, a Teheran forger deemed it worth his while, several years ago, to make three examples. Guided by a few fragments at hand, they were modelled and duly polychromed. Two were promptly sold and a third has disappeared. They were very simply made, without any deep cutting and with no elaborate ornament.

Another reason that the stucco panels have seemed isolated and surprising, is because the stucco of the XIth to the XIIIth centuries in place in extant Persian buildings had not been reported or even noticed. A study of the Seldjūk stucco *in situ* shows how rich and varied was the ornament of this period in this material; varied in pattern, in technique, and in the consistency of the stucco itself. In the spandrels above the squinches in the Great

² One of the best of these figures is in the Berlin Museum and has been published several times.

Dome Chamber of the Masdjid-i *Djāmi*' of Iṣfahān there are still adhering fragments of large leaves and arabesques, which are almost identical with similar patterns in the Boston Museum panel. But the decoration of the impost blocks, which has a very Ṭulūnid character, has not been observed elsewhere. Had fragments of this ornament appeared on the market, it surely would have been greeted with scepticism.

Last year Mr. Farajollah Bazl of Iṣfahān, a research scholar of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, discovered in a little village called Bezūn, to the east of Iṣfahān, the ruins of an Imām Zādē with a considerable mass of stucco still in place (*Figs. 3, 4*). The patterns of much of this stucco are very Sasanian in character and were it not for the date, 1133/34, and the script, which is like that of the Pennsylvania Museum panel, and the Stora piece, a far earlier dating would have been proposed.

The versatility of these stucco designers is further demonstrated by the stucco in the mosque of Ardistān, which is in perfect condition, dated 1133 (*Fig. 5*). Although hardly a hundred miles from Bezūn, this ornament has little in common with that of the latter except again in the calligraphy. At Gulpāyagān, on the other hand, in the high mountains to the northwest of Iṣfahān, one finds fragments of stucco ornament still adhering which closely resemble the fragments in the Masdjid-i *Djāmi*' of Iṣfahān.

How varied were the patterns, technique, and material is dramatically shown in the beautiful little early fourteenth century mausoleum of Pīr-i Bakrān to the west of Iṣfahān, in which practically all the stucco ornament remains intact (*Figs. 6, 7, 8*). Had these panels been found by a dealer and brought out separately, scholars would have been all but unanimous that they were the work of different periods, different artists, and from different places. The panels of the southeast recess recall some of the stucco of Sāmarrā, although they are crossed by inscription panels that are characteristically fourteenth century and recall Werāmīn. The flanking panels are again wholly different and some of the panels in the opposite recess differ still more. Some of the surfaces are hard and smooth. Others that are exposed to identical conditions are weathered like old oak,³ and seem to be of quite different material. Other panels are decidedly commonplace in style and execution.

The finds of Seldjūq stucco in Persia are supplemented by the discoveries of similar material made by the excavations of Prof. B. Deniké at Tirmidh and other stucco found in standing buildings in Turkestān both by Prof. B. Deniké and Prof. E. Cohn-Wiener.⁴ This Turkestān ornament has many points of resemblance with the Pennsylvania and Boston panels.

The net result of these various finds and observations is a confirmation of the fact that stucco was an indispensable adjunct in architectural decoration and that from Sasanian times on it was the accepted mode, with an immense and varied ornamental repertoire of its own; that it was probably applied on nearly all buildings of importance; that it was designed and

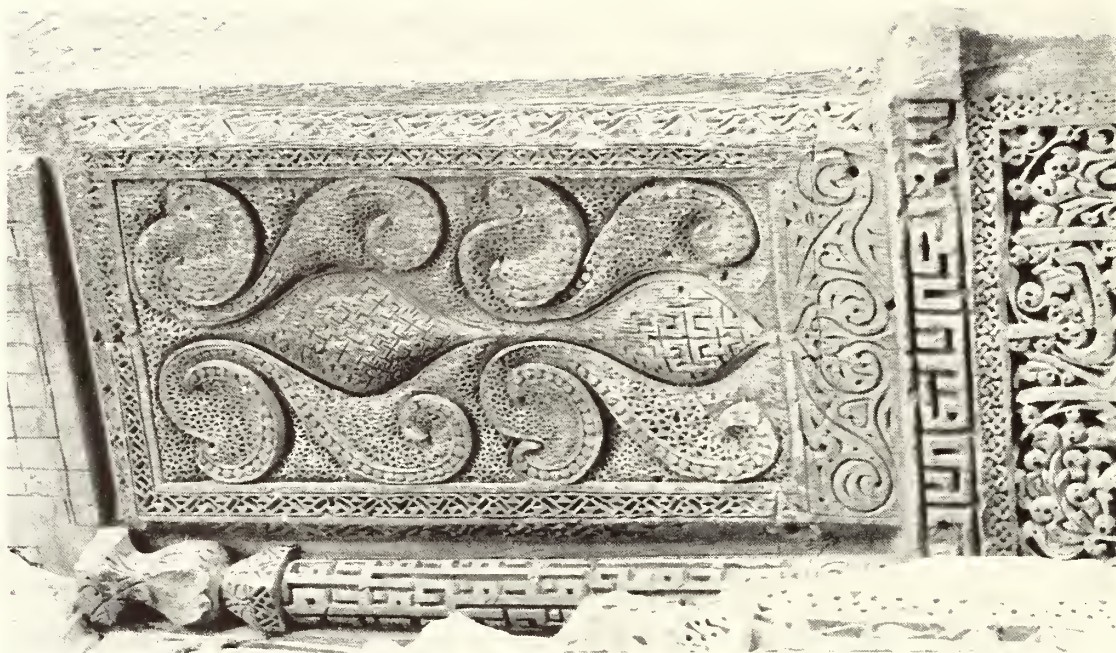
³ Most of these panels will be published in the forthcoming *Survey of Persian Art*, and their place in the

history of ornament fully discussed.

⁴ E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, pls. XII, XIII.



FIG. 6—STUCCO PANEL, PĪR-I BAKRĀN, BEGINNING OF XIV CENTURY
(PHOTO POPE)



FIGS. 7, 8—STUCCO PANELS, PĪR-I BAKRĀN, BEGINNING OF XIV CENTURY
(PHOTO POPE)

executed by a wide range of artists and made in a great variety of qualities, varying in both the material, composition, and in artistic value.

Seen against such a background, the figural panels that have been brought out are not in the least surprising. Their ornamental details contain little that is novel. The foliage and geometrical motives correspond with work that is still in place. Their figural art is confirmed by other fragments. Their costumes and textile designs, furniture and accessories and the treatment of animals are paralleled in the contemporary ceramics and metal. Further excavations are certain to reveal more figural examples, though they must always be less common than epigraphical and abstract ornament since only the latter are appropriate for religious buildings which are proportionately far more numerous than the palaces of princes.

UN BOL EN FAÏENCE DU XII^e SIÈCLE

[E.G.A. 273]

PAR GASTON WIET

M. MEHMET AGA-OGU A PUBLIÉ L'INSCRIPTION D'UN BOL EN FAÏENCE QU'IL ATTRIBUE AU prince būyide 'Aḍud al-dawla et qu'il date, en conséquence, de la fin du X^e siècle.¹ Le commentaire qu'il en fait est précieux à plus d'un titre, nous renseignant à la fois sur l'activité de 'Aḍud al-dawla et sur la prospérité industrielle de Rhagès.

La présente notice tend à établir que cette pièce ne saurait être au nom de 'Aḍud al-dawla et qu'il en faut reculer de deux siècles la date de fabrication. Tous nos confrères apprécieront la courtoise obligeance de M. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, qui donne l'hospitalité, dans la revue qu'il dirige, à la critique de son étude: je tiens à lui en exprimer personnellement toute ma reconnaissance.

L'inscription historique se déroule en bandeau circulaire à l'extérieur du bol: elle est écrite en naskhī cursif et est pourvue de quelques points discritiques. Elle comporte trois petites lacunes, qui ont été restaurées par les soins d'un marchand, d'une façon tout à fait arbitraire. Ces restaurations n'apparaissent pas sur les photographies, et nous devons un gré infini à M. Mehmet Aga-Oglu de les avoir signalées.

Pour la discussion qui va suivre, je crois utile de donner ici le texte et la transcription de cette inscription.

عز لا امير الاجل العالم العادل المويذ المظفر المنصور عماد الدين
محيي الاسلام عضد الدولة [deux mots] اجلال الامراء ابو
نصر كرمانشا [un mot... ه] و [un mot] الدين لصاحب

'Izz lil-amīr al-adjall al-'alim al-'adil al-mūaīyad al-muẓaffar al-manṣūr 'imād al-dīn muḥyī al-islām 'aḍud al-dawla . . . idjlāl al-umarā' Abū Naṣr Kirmānshā[h] . . . wa . . . al-dīn liṣāhibihi.

Pour aboutir à sa traduction M. Aga-Oglu a dû suppléer une préposition devant le mot *Kirmānshāh*:

"Glory to our Great Amīr, the Learned, the Just, the one upheld by God, Victorious, Experienced in Victory, 'Imād el-dīn, who revives Islām, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla (Abi n-Nasr) the Glory of Emirs, who obtained the Victory (of) Kirmānshāh. (Pride) and Might of religion to the Owner."

¹ "A Minai Bowl of the late tenth Century," *Burlington Magazine*, Mai, 1933, p. 208-212.

Or, voici la traduction que je propose:

“Gloire à l’émir très illustre, savant, juste, assisté de Dieu, vainqueur, victorieux, ‘Imād al-dīn, le vivificateur de l’islam, l’appui de l’empire, . . . l’illustration des émirs, Abū Naṣr Kirmānshāh, . . . (de?) la religion à son propriétaire.”

Je viens de dresser le tableau des inscriptions būyides que nous connaissons:² il n’est nul besoin de s’attarder longtemps à l’un quelconque de ces textes pour se rendre compte que l’inscription du présent bol ne saurait, de toute façon, viser une faïence būyide.

L’inscription se compose de quatre parties: 1^e une série de qualificatifs; 2^e cinq titres composés, dont l’un est inconnu; 3^e le nom du titulaire; les eulogies.

Les quatre titres composés sont, dans l’ordre, des surnoms en *dīn* (religion), *islām*, *dawla* (empire), [inconnu] et *umarā’* (émirs).

Les titres en *dawla* sont les plus anciens: la littérature les constate en 291/904,³ et l’exemple épigraphique le plus ancien est de 344/955.⁴

Islām apparaît en 395/1005,⁵ et *dīn* en 399/1009:⁶ les deux se trouvent ensemble pour la première fois en 426/1034-1035.⁷ Mais l’on doit observer ici un détail très important: depuis cette dernière date jusqu’à l’année 487/1094,⁸ *islām* précède toujours *dīn*. Or, dans la présente inscription, *dīn* est placé avant *islām*, et le premier exemple daté de cette interversion nous reporte à l’année 503/1109-1110.¹⁰ Enfin les titres en *umarā’*, apparaissent en 426/1034-1035.¹¹

Il nous faut maintenant envisager les six épithètes par lesquelles débute l’inscription: les dates auxquelles les protocoles de l’islām les admettent successivement sont les suivantes:

<i>amīr adjall</i>	351/962 ¹²
<i>mansūr</i>	386/996 ¹³
<i>‘ādīl</i>	401/1011 ¹⁴
<i>mūaīyad</i>	421/1030 ¹⁵
<i>muẓaffar</i>	456/1054 ¹⁶
<i>‘alīm</i>	537/1142-1143 ¹⁷

² G. Wiet, *L’Exposition persane de 1931*, pp. 137, 138.

³ Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, *Égypte*, II, p. 137.

⁴ *Répertoire d’Épigraphie arabe*, IV, no. 1475.

⁵ *Rawd al-Kirtas*, ed. Tornberg, p. 33.

⁶ Gallotti, “Cuve de marbre,” *Hespéris*, 1923, p. 376; Lévi-Provencal, *Inscriptions arabes d’Espagne*, no. 217.

⁷ M. van Berchem und J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, no. 8.

⁸ C I A, *Égypte*, I, no. 12.

⁹ Dans une inscription souveraine d’Alep, datée de 480/1087: *islām wa-muslimīn* précède *dunyā wa-dīn* (Sobernheim, “Inscripfen von Aleppo,” *Der Islam*, XV, no. 30.)

¹⁰ Van Berchem, “Epigr. des Atabeks,” in *Mél. de Vogué*, no. 1. (Cf. en 492/1099: *mūaīyad al-dīn mu’in al-muslimīn*; Flury, “Décor épigraphique,” *Syria*, VI, p. 74.)

Ce fait prouve que l’inscription funéraire du Kādi

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Baṣrī doit avoir été placée sur la tombe longtemps après la mort de l’intéressé (Mehren, in *Congrès des orient.*, 3^e session, II, pp. 228, 299.)

¹¹ *Amida*, no. 8.

¹² *Répertoire d’Épigraphie arabe*, IV, no. 1557.—Ce tableau modifie sensiblement l’étude déjà donnée sur cette question (“Inscription de Malik Zahir,” *BIF*, XXX, p. 282, no. 3).

¹³ Inscription inédite de Diyarbékir, communiquée par Jean Sauvaget.

¹⁴ *Zapiski Vostotshnago Otdeleniya Arkheologicheskago Obshestva*, XIV, p. 15.

¹⁵ S. Flury, “Das Schriftband an der Türe des Maḥmūd von Ghazna,” *Der Islam*, VIII, p. 216.

¹⁶ Sauvaget, “Inscription de Badr,” *Syria*, X, p. 137.—On ne peut pas tenir compte d’un texte du recueil Schefer (no. 416) daté 442/1050; les copies de ce recueil sont trop suspectes.

¹⁷ Sobernheim, *Baalbek*, no. 1.

Nous sommes donc amenés, d'une façon brutale, à considérer que ce bol ne peut être antérieur à la fin de la première moitié du XII^e siècle. Les considérations précédentes auraient été inutiles si nous avions pu identifier le titulaire de cet objet, un certain Abū Naṣr Kirmānshāh, lequel n'a pas été retrouvé dans les chroniques. Le nom de *Kirmānshāh* donné à un homme peut paraître extraordinaire, mais nous connaissons un exemple, celui de ce *Kharizmshāh*, fils d'Ibrāhīm, dont le nom est gravé sur un plateau d'argent du musée de l'Ermitage, et qui est aussi complètement inconnu.¹⁸

Il importe d'ajouter qu'une inscription au nom du prince būyide 'Aḏud al-dawla aurait été écrite en coufique. Ce bol de faïence, intéressant par le mystère qui lui est attaché, reste très important si on le compare aux pièces datées. Les trois plus anciennes de la même série portent les dates des années 575/1179, 587/1191 et 606/1209,¹⁹ et le bol de l'émir Kirmānshāh semble devoir être leur contemporain: certaines formes de lettres se retrouvent même dans l'inscription du plat de la collection Eumorfopoulos, daté 607/1210.²⁰

¹⁸ Van Berchem, "Inscriptions arabes en Russie," *JA*, 1909, II, pp. 407-410.

¹⁹ Cf. Kühnel, "Dated Persian Pottery," *Eastern Art*, III, p. 223. La date 575, mise en doute à quelques années près (578) paraît absolument certaine (Hobson, *Guide to the Islamic Pottery*, pp. 17, 23).

Des pièces datées de 216/831 et de 443/1051 n'ont jamais été publiées, et il serait prudent de n'en plus faire état (Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, pp. 42-43, 121; voir aussi Wiet, "L'Exposition d'art persan," *Syria*, XIII, p. 85, no. 1.)

²⁰ Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931*, p. XX.

EIN WIEDERGEFUNDENER TEPPICH

VON KURT ERDMANN

REINAUD'S BEKANNTES UND AUCH HEUTE NOCH IN VIELER HINSICHT AUFSCHLUSSREICHES Werk "*Description des Monumens Musulmans du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*"¹ enthält eine der frühesten eingehenden Beschreibungen eines persischen Teppichs, der sich zu jener Zeit im Besitz des Marquis de Lagoy befand. Er sagt:² "Le tapis . . . a environ quinze pieds de long sur six pieds de large: il est broché d'or et d'argent; mais il ne reste plus que quelques vestiges de son ancienne richesse . . . (il) offre au milieu un médaillon renfermant des groupes d'anges ailés qui tiennent à la main des vases et des instrumens de musique; à l'entour sont des lions, des tigres, et les autres animaux qui paraissent dans les chasses orientales . . . il porte sur le rebord extérieur une pièce de vers du poète persan Giami, offrant un genre d'allégorie tout à fait particulier . . . Cette ode fait partie du premier divan de Giami . . . Sur le tapis, quelques hémistiches ont été déplacés." Diesen Worten folgen die Transkription, Uebersetzung und Deutung der Inschrift.

Der frühen Teppichforschung waren diese Ausführungen Reinaud's gegenwärtig. Karabacek erwähnt den Teppich 1881;³ Riegl glaubt 1892⁴ er müsse einem Teppich im Besitz des Fürsten Lichtenstein⁵ ähnlich gewesen sein; F. R. Martin wiederholt 1899 diese Vermutung,⁶ kommt jedoch kurz darauf anscheinend auf die richtige Spur, indem er um 1900 in einem Teppich beim Pariser Händler Chappey "evidently the same carpet described by Reinaud" erkennt,⁷ ohne den weiteren Weg dieses Stücks verfolgen zu können. Die jüngere Teppichforschung hat das nur in einer Beschreibung überlieferte Stück kaum beachtet.

Eine Sichtung des bekannten Materials ergab, dass der von Reinaud beschriebene Teppich identisch ist mit einem ehemals in der Sammlung Yerkes befindlichen Stück,⁸ wenn man nicht annehmen will, dass ursprünglich zwei oder mehrere Exemplare dieses Musters existierten⁹ (*Fig 1*). Dieses misst nach den übereinstimmenden Angaben von Mumford⁸ und Pope¹⁰ 6 ft 8" zu 16 ft 8"; Reinaud's Schätzung auf 6 pieds sur 15 pieds ist also annähernd

¹ 2 Bände, Paris, 1828.

² Band II, pp. 463-73.

³ J. Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 160, Anm. 193.

⁴ A. Riegl, *Jahrbuch d. Allerh. Kaiserhauses*, XIII, Wien, 1892, pp. 295-6.

⁵ Dieser Teppich ist seinerseits eins der interessantesten heute verschollenen Stücke. Es war 1891 in Wien ausgestellt (*Kat. No. 398*) und wurde von Riegl im *Jahrbuch d. Allerh. Kaiserhauses*, XIII, 1892, p. 295 und in den *Mitt. des Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, Wien, 1890/1, p. 414 besprochen. Aus den eingehenden Beschreibungen geht hervor, dass es sich um einen 144 zu 216 cm. grossen mit Geniefiguren und Tieren geschmückten Wirkteppich handelt, der offenbar dem Mün-

chener Jagdteppich von allen bekannten Wirkteppichen am nächsten kommt.

⁶ F. R. Martin, *Figurale persische Stoffe aus dem Zeitraum von 1550-1650*, Stockholm, 1899, p. 16.

⁷ F. R. Martin, *A History of Oriental Carpets*, Vienna, 1908, p. 49. Der Teppich wurde nach Martin um 1900 für 80.000 frcs. angeboten.

⁸ J. K. Mumford, pl. XXI.

⁹ Das häufige Vorkommen von Paaren lässt diese Möglichkeit nicht ganz von der Hand weisen, wenn sie in diesem Fall auch nicht viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets*, Chicago, 1926, No. 8.

richtig. Sein Mittelmedaillon zeigt die von Reinaud beschriebene figürliche Darstellung, die Musterung des Innenfeldes entspricht seinen etwas summarischen Angaben. Der innere Begleitstreifen endlich zeigt in 22 Kartuschen die Verse, deren Transkription und Uebersetzung Reinaud gibt, auch die von ihm gerügten Fehler finden sich.¹¹ Verglichen mit diesen Uebereinstimmungen fallen die Abweichungen nicht ins Gewicht. Den Ausdruck "rebord extérieur," den Reinaud gebraucht, wird man als "Bordüre" schlechthin und nicht als "äusserer Begleitstreifen" zu verstehen haben. Von einer Broschierung sagen die beiden Beschreibungen aus jüngerer Zeit nichts, vielleicht irrte sich Reinaud; die schlechte Erhaltung des Stückes, die er erwähnt, wird von Mumford bestätigt.¹² Yerkes erwarb den Teppich "from a Paris dealer, who declared, that he had no data regarding its previous history,"¹³ es ist mithin wahrscheinlich, dass es sich um dasselbe Stück handelt, das Martin um 1900 bei Chappey sah. 1926 wurde er von Messrs. Parish-Watson in Chicago ausgestellt,¹⁴ heute befindet er sich in der Sammlung des kürzlich verstorbenen Mortimer Schiff.¹⁵

Wenden wir uns, nachdem die Frage seiner Provenienz beantwortet ist, dem Teppich als Kunstwerk zu, so drängt sich der Vergleich auf mit einem Teppich im Besitz des Musée des Gobelins zu Paris.¹⁶ Beide zeigen in eigentümlicher Weise die Eckfüllungen zusammengezogen zu einem spitzbogigen Abschluss; bei beiden ist der Kontur dieser Eckfüllungen gegen das Feld glatt, nach innen regelmässig gelappt und in 6½ zackenförmigen Schwinungen geführt, von denen die 2. und 5. eine kleine Kreuzblume trägt; bei beiden zeigt der Grund dieser Eckzwickel über einer untergeordneten Blütenranke eine dominierende Spiralaranke mit Arabeskenblättern von gleicher Anlage, nur dass bei dem Teppich in der Sammlung Schiff die Zeichnung etwas härter ist und das von der Längsseite überschnittene Arabeskenblatt fehlt, wodurch in den Ecken zwei Ranken anders und dem Ablauf widersprechend verbunden werden mussten.¹⁷ Auch die Musterung des Feldes stimmt in der Anlage überein; in jedem Viertel finden sich: an der Schmalseite ein laufendes geflecktes Huftier; darunter ein Leopard über einem Steinbock; unter diesen ein schräg nach oben schreitender, brüllender

¹¹ Für den Vergleich der Inschriften bin ich Herrn Prof. E. Kühnel zu aufrichtigem Dank verpflichtet. Die Angabe Reinaud's, dass der 15. Vers dreimal vorkommt, ist unzutreffend, Vers 15 und 16 finden sich je zweimal, um die zwanzig Verse der Ode auf die vorhandenen 22 Kartuschen zu verteilen.

¹² a.a.O. "The whole outward part of the fabric, particularly at the sides and ends, and a considerable portion of the central section as well, have been restored. The fact that this has been accomplished by "fine-drawing" and not by weaving, leads to the inference that it was done in Europe. But the workman, whether the task was performed in the East or West, has retained with commendable fidelity the masterly drawing and the wonderful colour agreements which distinguished the original."

¹³ Diese auffallende Formulierung—Mumford macht

sonst kaum Provenienzanangaben—scheint anzudeuten, dass er von der Identifizierung des Teppichs mit dem von Reinaud beschriebenen durch F. R. Martin gehört hat.

¹⁴ *The Art Club of Chicago Catalogue*, No. 8, without illustration.

¹⁵ Ich danke diese Information der Liebenswürdigkeit von Mr. A. U. Pope.

¹⁶ *Cat.* No. 353, erworben 1885 als Legs A. Goupil. Publiziert: *Orientalische Teppiche*, Wien, 1805, Tafel LXXIV (zum Teil farbig); leichter zugängliche Abbildungen: Kendrick-Tattersall, *Handwoven Carpets*, pl. 13; Martin, *A History . . .*, fig. 123; Neugebauer-Troll, *Handbuch . . .* Abb. 4.

¹⁷ Diese Tatsache allein genügt, um den Schiff-Teppich als den späteren zu erweisen.

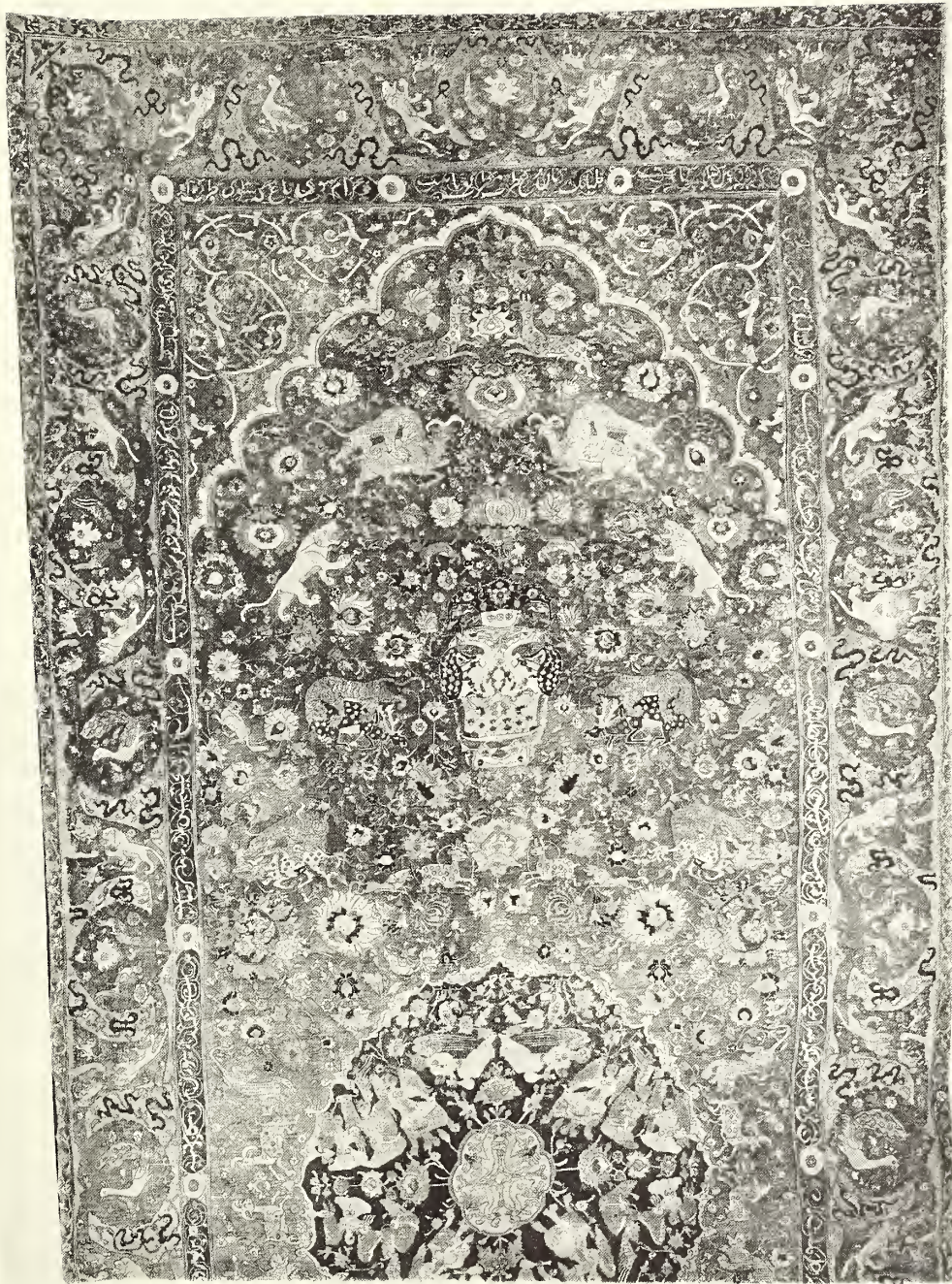


FIG. 1—TIERTEPPICH, OST-PERSIEN, ANFANG DES XVII JAHRH.
NEW YORK, SAMMLUNG MORTIMER SHIFF

Löwe, dessen Mähne beim Schiff-Teppich nicht detailliert ist; neben ihm ein kleineres Tier; darunter ein Tiger über einem Hirsch, bei dem sich so gar so kleine Details wie die Spiralzeichnung des Fells auf beiden Teppichen finden; am Rand ein kleineres Tier und endlich eine Kampfgruppe aus einem Löwenkilin und einem gehörnten Kilin, die auf dem Pariser Teppich eng am Mittelmedaillon steht, auf dem Schiff-Teppich dagegen etwas freier gestellt ist, da bei diesem hier ein Streifen eingeschoben ist.¹⁸ Daher finden sich auch die beiden nun folgenden kleineren Tiere nur auf ihm, während der Panther über einem Steinbock seitlich vom Mittelmedaillon auf beiden Teppichen vorkommt. Die Rankenmusterung des Grundes scheint, so weit die Reproduktionen einen Vergleich erlauben, ebenfalls weitgehend übereinzustimmen, besonders in dem charakteristischen Wechsel von Palmettenblüten und blütenähnlichen Gebilden aus Blattüberschneidungen,¹⁹ doch sind die Blüten auf dem Schiff-Teppich üppiger gezeichnet, ja nehmen im eingeschobenen Streifen barock wuchernden Charakter an. Die Einfügung eines Zwischenstreifens, die im allgemeinen als gut gelungen bezeichnet werden kann, wirkt sich am deutlichsten in der Mittelachse aus, in der bis zum Vasenmotiv mit den Pfauen²⁰ Uebereinstimmung besteht, dieses dann aber vom Mittelmedaillon, dessen Ansatz es auf dem Pariser Teppich bildet, losgerissen und als selbständiges Motiv behandelt wird.

So weit die Uebereinstimmungen der beiden Teppiche. Die Abweichungen betreffen das Mittelmedaillon und die Bordüre. Während das Medaillon des Pariser Teppichs Rankenwerk und Wolkenbänder im Stil des reifen 16. Jahrhunderts zeigt, ist das Medaillon des Schiff-Teppichs bei gleicher Form und verwandter Konturierung mit Genienfiguren gefüllt, wie sie kaum vor dem 17. Jahrhundert denkbar sind.²¹ Doch verbietet der Erhaltungszustand gerade dieses Teils²² ein näheres Eingehen. Auch die Bordüre bringt völlig andere Formen. Wo dort Schriftkartuschen mit Achtpässen alternieren, intermittiert hier eine bandartig verbreiterte Arabeskenranke in schildförmigen Blüten, während die Schriftkartuschen in den inneren Begleitstreifen verlegt sind.²³ Diese Bordürenmusterung passt wenig zum Innenfeld, sie ist offenbar einem anderen Zusammenhang entnommen.²⁴ Auch hier lässt sich ein Vorbild,

¹⁸ Der Pariser Teppich misst 285: 540 cm, hat also die Proportionen 1: 1.9; der an sich kleinere Schiff-Teppich misst auf Grund dieser Einschiebung 200: 500 cm., hat also die Proportionen von 1: 2.5.

¹⁹ Diese Formen scheinen erstmalig auf dem Ardebil-teppich aufzutreten, für dessen Musterung sie charakteristisch sind.

²⁰ Die Verwendung eines Vasenaufbaus an dieser Stelle ist geläufig. Z. B.: Baumteppich im Poldi-Pezzoli Museum zu Mailand, grosser Tierteppich im Victoria and Albert Museum, Fragment eines Tierteppichs im Museo Bardini zu Florenz; Baker, Teppich und Tier-teppich auf der Versteigerung Castiglione. Das Motiv dürfte ursprünglich isoliert gedacht sein, seine Verwendung als Ansatz des Mittelmedaillons ist die spätere Form.

²¹ Im Prinzip die gleiche Anordnung zeigen die Grup-

pen im Mittelmedaillon der beiden übereinstimmenden Teppiche aus der Yerkes-und Fletcher-Collection im Metropolitan Museum, die übrigens vielleicht aus derselben Quelle, nämlich dem Palazzo Capponi in Florenz, stammen. Auf der Versteigerung der Sammlung Bardini im Jahre 1899 war allerdings nur das eine Exemplar, das 1908 von Mr. A. Smith-Cochran dem Museum geschenkt wurde, während das andere 1902 mit der Sammlung Lelong in Paris versteigert und 1903 daselbst von M. Madjar ausgestellt wurde (*Cat. No. 686*), um kurz darauf in die Yerkes Collection zu gelangen.

²² Vgl. Anm. 12.

²³ Auch der Inhalt der Inschriften ist ein anderer.

²⁴ Dass sie schlechter gezeichnet scheint als das Innenfeld, dürfte wohl die Folge der weitgehenden Ausbesserungen sein.

wenn auch nicht das direkte, wie bei der Innenfeldmusterung, nachweisen. Das Muster-schema ist geläufig; mit Figuren bedeckt findet sich die Ranke jedoch nur einmal und da in durchaus übereinstimmender Form: beim Baumteppich des Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Mailand.²⁵ Auch hier verfolgt ein schreitendes, im Verhältnis zur Ranke allerdings besser proportioniertes Raubtier im ansteigenden Teil des Arabeskenblattes ein kleineres Tier, während im abzweigenden Teil der Arabeske ein Hase hockt; auch hier ist diese Gruppe adossiert; auch hier alternieren die im einzelnen andersartigen Füllungen der Blütenschilder und auch hier ist der restliche Grund des Hauptstreifens mit Wolkenbändern über einer kleinen Blütenranke gefüllt.²⁶

Die Untersuchung ergibt also, dass der heute in der Sammlung Schiff befindliche Teppich sein Innenfeldmuster einem Teppich im Musée des Gobelins zu Paris, sein Bordürenmuster einer Bordüre in der Art der des Baumteppichs im Poldi Pezzoli Museum zu Mailand entlehnt. Dabei sind die Übereinstimmungen mit dem Pariser Teppich so eng, dass an einem direkten Karton-Zusammenhang nicht zu zweifeln ist, die Abweichungen so wesentlich, dass es sich nicht um Gegenstücke handeln kann und ein gewisser zeitlicher Abstand anzunehmen ist, wobei der Schiff-Teppich eindeutig der spätere ist.²⁷ Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Mailänder Teppich ist geringer, so dass man hier ein fehlendes Bindeglied wird annehmen müssen.²⁸

Eine Datierung und Lokalisierung des besprochenen Teppichs ist ohne Kenntnis des Originals leider nur vermutungsweise möglich. Für den Zeitpunkt seiner Entstehung gibt der Pariser Teppich einen *terminus post quem*. Da dieser dem reifen 16. Jahrhundert angehört, ist der Teppich der Sammlung Schiff nicht vor dem Ende des 16., vermutlich erst am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts entstanden. Er stammt aber offenbar nicht aus derselben Manufaktur oder Gegend wie sein Vorbild; denn bei aller Übereinstimmung der Muster ist der Charakter der Zeichnung ein anderer, und auch die Farbgebung scheint, soweit Farb-

²⁵ Abb. Sarre-Trenkwald, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, Band II, Tafel 14.

²⁶ Vielleicht könnte man auch die Anordnung der Schriftkartuschen im inneren Begleistreifen mit dem Mailänder Teppich in Verbindung bringen, obwohl dies Motiv ja häufiger ist.

²⁷ Vgl. Anm. 17.

²⁸ Ähnliche Beziehungen lassen sich zwischen einzelnen persischen Tierteppichen auch sonst nachweisen. So geht ein Fragment im Museo Bardini zu Florenz auf den berühmten Tierteppich des Victoria and Albert Museums zurück (vgl. Erdmann, *Dedalo*, IX, 1931 pp. 647-63); der Teppich des Grafen Buquoi in Wien wird korrigierend wiederholt von einem Teppich im Besitz der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (vgl. Erdmann, *Amtliche Berichte a.d. Berliner Museen*, LIV, 1933, p. 6); zu dem kleinen Seidenteppich im Besitz der Berliner Museen findet sich eine vergrößernde wollene Wiederholung in

einem Fragment, das aus der Collection O. Homberg ins Musée des Arts décoratifs zu Paris gelangte (vgl. Erdmann, *Dedalo*, XII, 1932, p. 724); der bekannte Tier-teppich des Fürsten Schwarzenberg bildet das Vorbild eines Tierteppichs in der Ermitage; der Teppich mit Geniefiguren in den Zwickeln im Victoria and Albert Museum wird variiert in einem heute verlorenen Teppich, von dem Kelekian 1910 zwei Fragmente besass; der Karton der kleinen Seidenteppiche im Metropolitan Museum (Altman Collection) und im Art Institute zu Detroit wird benutzt von den Teppichen in der Sammlung Aynard, Lyon und im Louvre (Legs Peytel). In allen diesen Fällen, die sich vermehren liessen, handelt es sich um Kartonzusammenhänge, die nicht zu verwechseln sind mit dem zahlreichen Vorkommen von als Gegenständen gearbeiteten Teppichen. Die hier genannten Teppiche zeigen meist zeitlich, manchmal auch örtlich einen deutlichen Abstand voneinander.

tafeln ein Urteil gestatten, abzuweichen. Die auffallend üppige, manchmal fast wuchernde Wiedergabe der Blüten lässt an die Gruppe der Tierteppiche ohne Mittelmedaillon denken, deren bedeutendste Exemplare im Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien und in der Sammlung Mrs. Rockefeller-McCormick in Chicago²⁹ sind und die man wegen ihrer engen Beziehungen zu den späteren Herätteppichen wohl mit Recht neuerdings nach Ostpersien lokalisiert. Auch das warme Rot des Teppichs und die Verwendung eines leuchtenden Gelbs³⁰ weisen in diese Richtung. Da man inzwischen die beiden kleinen Teppiche mit figurengefülltem Mittelmedaillon im Metropolitan Museum dieser Gruppe zugewiesen hat,³¹ ist das Auftreten des Medaillonschemas in Ostpersien nichts Ungewöhnliches mehr. Nimmt man diese Lokalisierung auch für unseren Teppich an, so könnte man noch darauf hinweisen, das seine Bordürenmusterung, die zwar auch in anderen Gattungen vorkommt, in Ostpersien neben der Spiralranke mit Wolkenbändern das einzige bisher bekannte Bordürenmuster der frühen Zeit ist,³² dass ferner die Anordnung der Figuren im Mittelmedaillon auf den beiden Teppichen des Metropolitan Museums sich ähnlich findet und dass endlich die Anordnung der Schriftkartuschen im inneren Begleitstreifen entsprechend auf den beiden Teppichen in Wien und Chicago vorkommt, ohne dass diesen Momenten mehr als zusätzliche Beweiskraft zukäme. Eine Entscheidung der Lokalisierungsfrage wird nur vor dem Original selber möglich sein, vor ihm allerdings kaum besondere Schwierigkeiten bereiten, da der farbige Charakter der ostpersischen Gruppe unverkennbar ist.

²⁹ Vgl. Sarre-Trenkwald, a.a.O. Band I, Tafel 7 und *Bulletin of the Art Institute, Chicago*, XXV, 1930 No. 5.

³⁰ Das Gelb dieser ostpersischen Teppiche ist durchaus verschieden von dem fahleren, kälteren Gelb, das die Teppiche der "Sanguszko-Gruppe" (vgl. *Dedalo*, XII, 1932, pp. 711-4) auszeichnet.

³¹ Dimand, *Handbook*, p. 244 und *Katalog der Lon-*

doner Ausstellung, 1931, No. 201. Vielleicht gehört auch der Medaillonteppeich mit spärlichen Tierfiguren, der 1932 als No. 22 der Benguiat Collection versteigert wurde, hierher.

³² Es findet sich bei Stücken in Wien und London. Erst in späterer Zeit treten weitere Bordürenmuster, wie die kleinteilige Kartuschenreihung, auf.

A DJĀMĪ'S MANUSCRIPT IN THE LAFAYETTE COLLEGE LIBRARY

BY NICOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH

SEVERAL TIMES I HAVE REPEATED, VERBALLY AND IN WRITING, OFFICIALLY AND PRIVATELY, the same formula: Oriental manuscripts, which are preserved in American museums, libraries, or private collections, must be systematically catalogued and described. Even yet, nobody knows what treasures are hidden in them. Since 1924 I have been carrying on my work, without any assistant, of discovering such treasures in this country. This summer (1933) I found, accidentally, a remarkable Persian manuscript in the Van Wickle Library of Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania.

This manuscript is the *dīwān* of small poems, of the famous Persian poet, Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, who was born at Djām, Khorāsān, on November 7, 1414, and died at Herāt on November 9, 1492. Our copy was written only twenty-three years after the death of the poet, and was made by two celebrated artists of that time—the calligrapher, Sultān 'Alī al-Meshhedī, and the painter, Maḥmūd Mudhahhīb.

Our manuscript is included in a binding of dark brown leather, the outside embossed in gold and decorated with 17 medallions. The size of the full page is $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, that of the written space $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. The text is written in the *nesta'liq*, 15 lines to a page, in two columns. The paper is very heavy, of various colours: yellow, brownish, green, rose, white, light and dark blue. The margins are richly decorated with flowers. The titles of the chapters and the poems are executed in gold.

Its contents are as follows: Folios 351; ff. 11-347 have wrong Moslem pagination; ff. 1-5 and 348-351 are flying. Ff. 8b-11b introduction; ff. 12a-72a *qaṣīdas*, or odes; ff. 73b-336b *ghazals*, or short lyric poems; ff. 337a-347a *rubā'iyāts*, or quatrains. On the ff. 7a, 8b, 9a and 73b we have four artistically made '*unwāns*, or title-pages. Moreover, the manuscript is illuminated with four miniatures on ff. 7b, 8a, 72b-73a (double), and 347b. The first picture represents the poet Djāmī talking with a philosopher; in the corner is the signature of the painter: "made by Maḥmūd Mudhahhīb (i.e., the Gilder, or Decorator)." This miniature is shamefully spoiled with some English "explanatory" inscriptions of a modern European owner. On the second picture we see servants preparing a feast in a garden and a beggar with his child looking at them. The third miniature is double, on two pages; Sultān Ḥusain Bāīkarā, of Persia, is surrounded by his court and some learned men. And in the fourth picture a teacher is sitting with two pupils in a garden. In the colophon, f. 347b, we read that this manuscript was finished by Sultān 'Alī al-Meshhedī at the city of Herāt in 921 A.H., i.e., 1515 A.D. The folios 6a, 7a, and 347b are covered with many seals and autographs of preceding owners, and in addition, to the f. 351b are attached two English letters. From all this material—the signatures of the painter and of the calligrapher, the seals and autographs of the owners, and two European letters—we are able to reconstruct the complete biography of our manuscript.

The manuscript, as we said above, is the work of two most remarkable artists. It was

written by the calligrapher, Sultān 'Alī al-Meshhedī, and the miniatures were made by Maḥmūd Mudhahhīb, in 1515 A.D. 'Alī, called King (of the calligraphers), was the court scribe of Bābur, the founder of the dynasty of Mogul Emperors of India; he was so great an artist that Bābur, himself, mentions him in his memoirs "*Bābur Nāme*". He was invited to be the collaborator of the greatest painter of the Moslem world—Behzād. 'Alī died in 1519. Maḥmūd, the painter of the miniatures of our manuscript, was the pupil of Behzād and died in 1537. 'Alī and Maḥmūd sometimes worked together, as in the case of our manuscript, and they liked to reproduce the *dīwān* of Djāmī: a wonderful parallel to our copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supp. pers. No. 1416, dated 1499. Since Bābur, to whom our manuscript was executed, it belonged to the Imperial Library of his descendants. We have the autographs of Djahāngīr, Shāh Djahān, Awrangzīb (1605-1707). Thereafter it was received, as a royal gift, by some provincial rulers of India and in one of their libraries it was preserved until the revolt of 1857. Being confiscated among other goods, it was sold at auction and purchased by Rev. James Long Scott, an American missionary. He was born October 27, 1812, in Coatesville, Pennsylvania, graduated from Jefferson College in 1833, and from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1838; he had been a missionary in India since 1839 and died there January 2, 1880. Our manuscript is his gift to the Van Wickle Library of Lafayette College.

ARS ISLAMICA

PRINTED IN U.S.A. BY THE ANN ARBOR PRESS

ARS ISLAMICA

PUBLISHED SEMI-ANNUALLY BY THE RESEARCH SEMINARY
IN ISLAMIC ART · DIVISION OF FINE ARTS · UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN AND THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

MCMXXXIV

VOL. I

ANN ARBOR

PART 2

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

CONTENTS

BERTHOLD LAUFER	Chinese Muḥammedan Bronzes. With a Study of the Arabic Inscriptions by Martin Sprengling	133
ERNST KÜHNEL	Die 'Abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen	149
ERNST DIEZ	Sino-Mongolian Temple Painting and its Influence on Persian Illumination	160
A. K. COOMARASWAMY	<i>Khawājā Khadir</i> and the Fountain of Life, in the Tradition of Persian and Mughal Art	173
MEHMET AGA-OGU	Preliminary Notes on some Persian Illustrated MSS. in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi—Part I	183
HANS STÖCKLEIN	Die Waffenschätze im Topkapu Sarayı zu Istanbul —Ein Vorläufiger Bericht	200
WILLIAM H. WORRELL	On Certain Arabic Terms for "Rug"	219
BURTON Y. BERRY	Turkish Door Furnishings	223
PETER RUTHVEN	Two Metal Works of the Mamlūk Period	230
ERNST DIEZ	The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem	235
BIBLIOGRAPHIA 1933/34		239

Editor

MEHMET AGA-OGU

Consultative Committee

LAURENCE BINYON	ALEXANDER G. RUTHVEN
ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY	FRIEDRICH SARRE
MAURICE S. DIMAND	JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI
ALBERT GABRIEL	WILLIAM R. VALENTINER
ERNST KÜHNEL	GASTON WIET
RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL	JOHN G. WINTER

EDITORIAL OFFICE: RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART, DIVISION OF FINE ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, U.S.A.



FIG. 1A—CHINESE BRONZE TRIPOD CENSER, DATED 1430



FIG. 1B—ANOTHER VIEW OF BRONZE CENSER SHOWN IN FIG. 1A



FIG. 2—LOWER SIDE OF CENSER SHOWN IN FIG. 1, INSCRIPTION

CHINESE MUHAMMEDAN BRONZES

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

WITH A STUDY OF THE ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS BY MARTIN SPRENGLING

DURING MY TRAVELS IN CHINA (1901-04, 1908-10) I WAS ALWAYS INTERESTED IN THE Muḥammedan population and made it a point to collect any objects that are characteristic of Muḥammedan life and culture and that are apt to distinguish the followers of Islam from the surrounding Chinese. I had occasion to visit the mosques of Peking, T'ai-yüan, T'ai-an, Ho-nan, Si-an, Hang-chou, Ch'eng-tu, and others, and had rubbings made of the inscription stones bearing on the history of these mosques, both in Arabic and Chinese,¹ and collected numerous Islamic books in Arabic, Chinese, and Chinese-Arabic. I likewise made a collection of such literature for the Newberry Library, Chicago.

The fact that the Muḥammedans of China, aside from their religion, are completely sinicized becomes patent to the most casual observer. They speak and write the Chinese language; only the Ākhūns and Mollās have a certain knowledge of Arabic, which I suspect is not very profound. Both men and women have adopted Chinese dress; only in Kansu Province did I notice a black veil worn by Muḥammedan women when appearing in public. They take the same food as their neighbors, save that they abstain from pork and do not eat together with infidels or anything cooked by them. Rosaries, prayer caps embroidered in gold and silver threads with Arabic aphorisms, and bronze vessels with and without Arabic inscriptions are the essential feature of my collection.

Much has been written about the history of the Muḥammedans in China, some of their inscriptions also have been translated, but much critical work remains to be done. Muḥammedan art, however, has but incidentally been treated, presumably for lack of good material which is not easy to procure; a great deal of it was undoubtedly destroyed during the formidable Muḥammedan rebellions in the nineteenth century (1855-73 and 1861-77) and presumably even earlier during the two Muḥammedan insurrections in Kansu (1648-49, 1781-83).² Much may still be retained in the possession of Muḥammedan families which are loath to part with their heirlooms. During the period of the Ming dynasty, notably in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Muḥammedan art was in a flourishing condition, and

¹ M. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, 1910, p. XIII, asserts that the Rev. F. Madeley discovered the earliest Islamic inscription dated A.D. 742, hitherto not seen by any European or American. Again, on the plate reproducing a rubbing of this inscription, he parades the announcement that "it has never been found by any European before." The fact is that when I lived at Si-an fu in 1902 and was on the most friendly terms with the Muḥammedans residing in the city I was the first who actually saw and examined this inscription stone and had rubbings made of it as well as of all other inscrip-

tions found in this and the second mosque of Si-an. My account was embodied by E. H. Parker in his article "Islam in China," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1908; cf. also my report in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Wiener Akademie*, 1905, No. 2. I was also the first who prepared a critical translation of this inscription based on the stone record, while the previous translation of Devéria was made from the unreliable text as printed in the *T'ien fang chi sheng shi lu*, Chap. 20, pp. 7-8.

² Cf. C. Imbault Huart, "Deux insurrections des Mahométans du Kan-sou," *Journal Asiatique*, 1890.

it was still active in the course of the eighteenth century, but the scarcity of the material that at present is at our disposal prevents us from evaluating the extent and effect of this art properly. It seems advisable to defer judgment and to refrain from generalized conclusions until all accessible material in our museums and private collections has been published. To encourage others to make known what they have and what they know is the main scope of this article.

Another reason why in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine what the Muḥammedans have contributed to Chinese art, and to culture in general, is that they have always worked quietly, noiselessly, unostentatiously and have even purposely eschewed any sensations and publicity.³ Buddhism always understood the art and value of advertising and never tired of announcing *urbi et orbi* the benefits that would accrue to its votaries. We are clearly conscious of the contributions made by Buddhism to the civilization of China, but who can give a positive answer when the question is raised as to what Islam has contributed? Muḥammedan literature fails us in this respect. Muḥammedans themselves cannot enlighten us on this point. We have to work out the facts for ourselves. We have to study the art-crafts of the Ming in bronze, pottery, enamels, glass, and textiles to ferret out any possibilities of derivations from Muḥammedan sources of art forms or ornamentation.⁴

M. Paléologue, who wrote the first book on Chinese art,⁵ was also the first to discuss Muḥammedan bronzes. He illustrates three of these with Arabic inscriptions, but without giving translations, from the collection of C. Schefer, then director of the *Ecole des langues orientales vivantes* of Paris, adding that they date in the first years of the fifteenth century as testified by the marks engraved on the bottom. Paléologue holds that three bronze pieces forming a set are used in the Muḥammedan cult—a box to hold incense sticks, a censer to burn them, and a vase for the bronze spatulas by means of which the incense is taken. This affair, however, is not peculiar to the Muḥammedans, but is generally Chinese, nor do the Muḥammedans, as far as I know, employ it in their cult, but merely for domestic purposes.

S. W. Bushell⁶ has illustrated a bronze censer with Arabic writing and the date-mark Süan-te (1426–35). The information given by him on Islam in China is almost literally copied from Paléologue and contains nothing new save some errors not contained in his predecessor's

³ Vasilyev, "Der Mohammedanismus in China," in his *Die Erschliessung Chinas* by R. Stübe, p. 100, says justly, "Islam never applied to Government with request for privileges; on the contrary, it appears to have always endeavored to be forgotten from time to time. Everywhere do we see the minarets rise above other buildings; in China, however, they disappear between the other one-storied houses."

⁴ As to cultural objects I may refer to the Chinese water-pipe the origin of which remained obscure for a long time until I found a passage in a Chinese text to the effect that the water-pipe made its first appearance

at Lan-chou, capital of Kansu Province, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and came from there together with the finely shredded tobacco used in connection with this peculiar smoking apparatus, which took its origin in Persia. Since Kansu is densely populated by Muḥammedans, especially those who emigrated from Turkestan, I have concluded that Kansu was the home of the Chinese water-pipe which was spread all over Asia by Muslims. See my booklet *Tobacco and Its Use in Asia*, 1924, pp. 26–28.

⁵ *L'Art chinois*, 1887, pp. 69, 72, 73.

⁶ *Chinese Art*, I, 1921, p. 57 and fig. 43.

book. To these belongs the assertion that "young Muslims in China are taught the elements of their religion from books printed in Chinese Turkestan"; the books seen and collected by me have been printed at Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan Province, and in other Chinese mosques. The mosques of Yunnan Province are well known to have been active in the production of literature. Bushell's reference to "Muslim inscriptions in debased Arabic" is not justifiable on the part of one who is not an Arabic scholar.

Bushell⁷ has also illustrated two Chinese vases of opaque glass with Arabic scrolls, one with date-mark of the Yung-cheng period (1723-35).

The most recent writer on Islamic art in China is Professor P. Kahle of Bonn University⁸ in a discussion of the *Khita'i Nāme* of 'Alī Akbar, which was first made known by C. Schefer. Kahle shows that 'Alī Akbar spent the years 1505 and 1506 in China and that according to his account Islam appears to have played an important part in the China of the Ming. The emperor Čīn Khwār (Hiao Tsung, 1488-1505) is said by him to have been strongly inclined toward Islam and to have had an entourage of noble Moslems serving him as officials. The emperor Ch'eng-te (1506-21) is even credited with having adopted Islam clandestinely or publicly—doubtless an exaggeration. This rumor probably arose from the fact that the emperor studied Arabic, but he also studied Sanskrit and Mongol. Many Moslems were found among the eunuchs whose influence was all-powerful and to whom 'Alī Akbar owes much of his information. His descriptions of eunuchism are very circumstantial; he reports in detail whence the eunuchs came, how they got into the palace, how they gradually advanced in rank until they exerted a far-reaching influence. 'Alī Akbar writes, "The fact that the country of China is well populated and enjoys welfare and safety is accounted for by the existence of these eunuchs who are the agents of the emperor of China and who are treated by him like his sons; most of these eunuchs are Moslems." Professor Kahle writes me that he is planning to publish the entire *Khita'i Nāme* in text and translation—a work in which all orientalists will rejoice. In the article in question Professor Kahle proceeds to describe and figure blue and white porcelains with the date-mark Ch'eng-te (1506-21), partly with Arabic inscriptions or Persian-Arabic designs. Many of these are found in the Saray of Istanbul, and were made for the imperial court in the kilns of King-te chen.

Professor Kahle has justly pointed out that under the Ming numerous eunuchs were Muḥammedans and held important positions. There were likewise many Muḥammedans, who were not eunuchs, employed in high offices. One example out of many may suffice. When Shāh Rokh's embassy (1419-22) arrived at the court of Peking, it was received and advised by Mawlānā Ḥādji Yusīf the kāḍī, who was one of the Amīrs of Tūmān (commander of ten thousand men), one of the officers attached to the Chinese monarch and who was at the head of one of the twelve imperial councils. He was accompanied by several Moslems versed in languages, who admonished the Persians to make the kotow before the emperor.⁹

⁷ *Chinese Art*, II, p. 68, figs. 84-85.

⁸ "Eine islamische Quelle über China um 1500," *Acta Orientalia*, XII, pp. 91-110.

⁹ Quatremère, "Histoire des deux sultans Shah-Rokh et Abou-Said," *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, 1843, p. 405.

The flourishing period of Islam in China was in the age of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) when Muḥammedans occupied high offices in the government service and the emperors took a friendly and sympathetic attitude toward Islam. Outwardly this finds its expression in the fact that the majority of Islamic inscriptions were composed in the Ming period; thus, the first mosque of Si-an fu, called Ts'ing chen se, shelters three inscribed stone tablets dated 1405, 1526, and 1575; the second mosque of Si-an, called Ts'ing kiao se, has an epigraphic monument dated 1545; that of Hangchow one of 1493, and so on. In 1392 the first emperor of the dynasty, Hung-wu, issued an edict in favor of Islam, granting permission to found two mosques, one at Nanking and one at Si-an and to repair mosques whenever threatened with ruin; he also conceded to Muḥammedans the right to settle, travel, and trade in any part of the empire. This liberal and tolerant imperial attitude naturally resulted also in a high development of Muḥammedan art in which, as will be seen, the emperors themselves seem to have taken an interest.

All objects described in this article were obtained by myself at Si-an fu in 1908-9 during the Blackstone Expedition to China on behalf of Field Museum, Chicago. All photographs are due to the courtesy of Field Museum.

While there are Muḥammedan bronzes with the Süan-te date-mark (1426-35), as pointed out by Paléologue, and while there are others devoid of this date-mark, which, however, may be assigned to this period because of the technical character of the bronze, I am in a position to describe two censers (*Figs. 1-4*) which I have reason to believe are unique in that they are inscribed with a definite year in the Süan-te period and, more than that, bear each an inscription of sixteen characters of great historical significance. These two censers were acquired by me for Field Museum, Chicago, at Si-an fu, capital of Shensi Province, in 1908 from Mr. Su, a Muḥammedan, who at that time was the most prominent antique dealer of that city. The commerce in works of art then was entirely in the hands of Muḥammedans, and but for them our museums would be without Chinese art.

The two tripod censers are identical in shape, as may be seen from the illustrations, and were produced in the imperial foundry of Peking in the years 1430 and 1431, respectively. They are of exceptionally fine workmanship. One of the censers (Cat. No. 117602; 18x16.5 cm.; 11.2 cm. high), dated 1430, two views of which are shown in *Figs. 1a* and *1b*, is coated with a lustrous brownish polish said to be characteristic of the Süan-te period, which is celebrated for its artistic work in bronze, and is entirely plain save three countersunk medallions or panels filled with Arabic script in flat relief.

Professor Sprengling, to whom I am very grateful for his kindly cooperation,¹⁰ reads this inscription as follows:

'Afdahu al-dhikr | lā'ilāha 'illā Allāhu | Muḥammadu rasūlu Allāh.

"The most excellent of confessional invocations (is): | There is no god whoever beside Allāh; | Muḥammed is the apostle of God."

¹⁰ Arabic inscriptions on Chinese porcelains, to my knowledge, have not yet been translated. A blue and white porcelain vase with designs of Persian style and

with an Arabic inscription is illustrated in the book of O. du Sartel, *La Porcelaine de Chine*, plate XIX, No. 91.



FIG. 3—CHINESE BRONZE TRIPOD CENSER, DATED 1431



FIG. 4—LOWER SIDE OF CENSER IN FIG. 3, INSCRIPTION



FIG. 5—CHINESE MUHAMMEDAN BRASS PLATE



FIG. 6—CHINESE MUHAMMEDAN COPPER PLATE

Fig. 2 shows the inscription cast on the lower side of the vessel, the sixteen characters being traced in an archaic style of seal script in four rows, four in each row, arranged in a square. The reading of these ancient forms is greatly facilitated by the analogous inscription in the other censer (Fig. 3), which is in modern style. Transcribed in modern form the inscription is as follows:

吳 工 五 大
邦 部 年 明
佐 官 監 宣
造 臣 督 德

“Made in the fifth year of the period Süan-te (A.D. 1430) of the great Ming dynasty by his majesty’s servant Wu Pang-tso, who held office in the Board of Public Works with the title of superintendent or director (*kien-tu*).”

Before discussing the contents of this inscription it is desirable to examine the seal on the dragon censer (Fig. 4), which reads as follows:

“Made in the sixth year of the period Süan-te (A.D. 1431) of the great Ming dynasty under the supervision of his majesty’s servant Wu Pang-tso, president of the Board of Public Works (*Kung pu shang shu*).”

We see that Wu Pang-tso, within a year or possibly less, had been promoted in 1431 to one of the highest offices in the capital, to the presidency of the Ministry of Works, while in the preceding year he was still holding a subordinate position in the same ministry. The fact that Wu Pang-tso had these two censers made for the imperial court becomes evident from the word *ch'en* (“subject, servant, minister of state”) prefixed to his name and in smaller size in the second inscription. *Ch'en* was the word by which an official in addressing the emperor designated himself, so that in many cases we may simply translate it with the personal pronoun. It is well known that the court painters, whenever a certain picture was ordered by his majesty or when for certain reasons a picture was intended for him, signed it with their name preceded by the word *ch'en*.

The two pairs of five-clawed dragons represented in relief on the censer in Fig. 3 (Cat. No. 117601; 20.1 x 17.7 cm.; 9.6 cm. high)—there are three smaller four-clawed dragons on the bottom of the bowl and a pair on each handle, altogether eleven dragons on the entire vessel—likewise speak in favor of imperial patronage; for the dragon was the coat of arms of the house of Ming, and the one with five claws was an imperial prerogative. The flaming

jewel or pearl is placed between the beards of two dragons and rests on a cloud pattern held between their claws—as far as I know, a rather unusual conception; thus it is the cloud and thunder dragon which is here intended, a symbol of fertilizing showers. It is conceivable that Wu Pang-tso had this vessel designed and cast in commemoration of his new appointment as president of the Board of Public Works and transmitted it to the sovereign as a token of his appreciation and gratitude. Unquestionably Wu was a Moslem, otherwise it would be unintelligible why he should have sent to the throne a censer adorned with an Arabic tenet, and just one expressing a cardinal doctrine of Islam. What was the motive prompting him to this act? We may assume that it was calculated either to render the monarch favorably disposed toward Islam, or if he was so inclined, to strengthen his sympathies and to give him a testimonial in return for favors he might have shown the cause of Islam. Or the case may be much simpler: Wu Pang-tso may have been actuated by the desire to impress upon his sovereign the fact that the Muḥammedans also possessed an art and a writing capable of ornamental treatment no less than Chinese; in other words he desired merely to present his lord with a specimen of Arabic calligraphy, with an example of Moslem art. This would by no means have been an unprecedented case; we need not invoke here Chinese tolerance in matters of religion, but we may emphasize their curiosity about exotics of all sorts such as plants, animals, minerals, strange foreigners, their manners, customs, and tales, and what is there that could not be found in China? There is nothing odd or amazing about the fact that a censer with an Arabic maxim should have found its way into the imperial palace which was a museum-like storehouse, where curiosities from all corners of the world were garnered.

The large plate of hammered brass (Cat. No. 117610; 76 cm. in diameter), illustrated in Fig. 5, is made in seven pieces, six forming the margin and one the central countersunk portion. The margin is engraved with an interlaced band filled with chrysanthemums and cloud patterns, the latter being enclosed in a crescent and surrounding a medallion which contains Arabic script. The center of the plate is occupied by an interlaced band arranged in the form of an eight-pointed star and laid around a circular band. Of the nine spaces thus made five are occupied by Arabic; the four small ones at the corners, with an acanthus-like pattern, which is decidedly Muḥammedan. The outer zone is decorated with an elaborate band of floral designs, evidently derived from textiles and probably an adaptation of Chinese decorative motives to Muḥammedan taste. This and the following plate, which were apparently produced by the same artisan, belong to the late Ming period (sixteenth to first part of the seventeenth century) and came to me from the possession of a wealthy Muḥammedan family of Si-an fu. All I could learn was that they were used for the decoration of walls in rooms.

The copper plate in Fig. 6 (Cat. No. 117609; 43 cm. in diameter), is adorned with the same interlaced star design as in the preceding plate, and has identical inscriptions. There are six five-clawed dragons engraved along the edges, one with head forward alternating with one with head turned backward. On the opposite side in the center there is a unicorn monster with the trunk of an elephant, the *makara* of India (*chu srin* of the Tibetans), which I have

only encountered in Tibetan Buddhist art; attached to the monster is a conch-shell (Sanskrit *ṣaṅkha*, Tibetan *dung-dkar*). How this Indic motive came to be applied to this Islamic plate, which on the other side glorifies the Chinese dragon, I do not know, nor can I explain its significance in this connection.

Professor Sprengling has kindly supplied the following information on the inscriptions of the two plates:

"The copper plate and the brass plate are closely related to each other and, judging from the inscriptions, seem to be from the same workshop. The inscription or inscriptions on the sunken surface of No. 117610 are, excepting for minor variations in the forms or deformations of letters, exactly the same as the sum total of inscription on No. 117609. At this moment I have not the time to solve all of the intricacies inherent in a Chinese metal-worker's use of Arabic script for the ornamentation of his wares. The first word in the inner circle is most probably *Allāh*. The second word seems to be *walī*, "the patron of," perhaps *al-dīn*, "religion," or "judgment." In the upper left hand space we may read an attempt to write *ḥayāt* ("life"). The material in the four facets surrounding the inner circle is evidently intended for some such form of *ḥadīth* concerning the fundamental duties of a Moslem, as are found in 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī al-Muttakī's *Kanz al-'Ummāl*,¹¹ *Ḳāla al-nabī a(laihi) (al-salā)m* in the right hand facet is perfectly clear. The next facet to the left of this one is extremely troublesome; I have found no satisfactory solution for it despite the fact that the following facets are again fairly clear. The third facet is probably to be read *wa-ṣūmū shahrakum*; the fourth: *wa huḍjdjū baita rabbikum*. In English this would be: 'Said the prophet, hail to him' . . . (possibly *ṣalātī dhikrukum*, 'my prayer is your confessional invocation' 'and? . . . *al-zakāt*? 'the alms') . . . and fast your month and make pilgrimage to the house of your Lord.'

"On the rim of the large plate *al-ḥamdu lillāhi*, "praise to God," is repeated three times by itself, and once as the final portion of another phrase with *wa*, 'and' before it. At the very beginning of this lozenge is found the abbreviated form of 'hail to him,' found after the word 'prophet' in the first of the inner facets. This is odd, to say the least, as is the following involved and, to me, unintelligible word or words. In the facet just preceding this one may read *awwalan wa ākhīran*, 'first and last.' The facet or lozenge between two independent 'Praise to God' facets is at this writing quite insoluble to me; it seems to contain some reference, perhaps an injunction 'to us' (*lanā*), having to do with spending of money or wealth (*naḥakā . . . al-māl?*). I am quite content to leave further, perhaps ultimate solution to some one else, who may be more intimately acquainted with the labyrinth of *ḥadīth*, or more fortunate in his search, or more expert in the Chinese manner of dealing with Arabic. Several of my assistants in collaboration with me have not in the time at their disposal been able to carry the matter further than here stated."

A circular brass box (Cat. No. 117605; 13.8 cm. in diameter and 5.4 cm. in height),

¹¹ Vol. III, p. 62, Nos. 1107-10.

Fig. 7, is decorated only on the top of the cover—in the center Arabic writing in flat relief laid around in a circle; in the outer zone there is a band of arabesques, the unit of design being repeated four times, the four units being divided by a flower with large spreading petals, and bird's heads being combined with the spirals. This object was acquired at Si-an fu in 1908, and is probably of the later Ming period. The inscription, according to Professor Sprengling, consists of four names, which read "Muḥammed, Maḥmūd, Ḥāmid, Aḥmed" and which are probably intended as variant names of the prophet Muḥammed.

Three flower-vases are grouped together in Fig. 8 (Cat. Nos. 120982, 117603, 117604; 16.5, 14.1, 17.3 cm. high, respectively), all presumably of the later Ming period. Each is provided with a pair of elegant loop-handles, and two of them are decorated with a neatly engraved band of floral designs. The first and third (Nos. 120982 and 117604), according to Professor Sprengling, contain two pious exclamations widely used in the Islamic world: *subḥān Allāh*, "glory to God," and *wal-ḥamdu lillāh*, "and praise to God." The vase in the center (No. 117603) bears the same inscription as the preceding brass box (No. 117605).

Two curiosa may be added here. Fig. 9 is an impression taken from a cast-iron seal in Chinese style with conical handle. The seal (Cat. No. 117606) is rectangular in shape, 6 x 3½ cm., 1.4 cm. thick; the handle is 5.2 cm. in height. Professor Sprengling reads it:

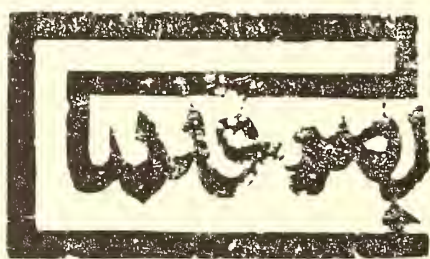


FIG. 9

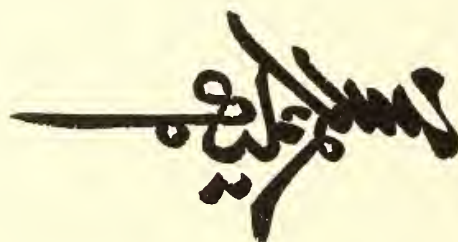


FIG. 10

bi-mamnūnīyatī, "with my compliments." This seal was presumably stamped on packages containing presents sent to friends. Fig. 10 represents an impression taken from a wooden block engraved in Chinese fashion (Cat. No. 117608; 6.1 x 3 cm.). It was given me by a Chinese Muḥammedan with the explanation that it should contain a man's name to be printed on his visiting card which in the China of the Manchu dynasty was a rectangular sheet of paper dyed red. Professor Sprengling reads it, *al-salaam 'alaikum*, "hail to you!"—the commonest form of Moslem greeting. All Chinese Muḥammedans have Chinese names, and their name cards do not differ from those of the Chinese. It is conceivable that the stamp in question was added to the card of a Muḥammedan or imprinted on a separate sheet, so that in making a call on a coreligionist he identified himself as one of the faithful.

It seems that Muḥammedan art preferred expressing itself in Chinese forms to inventing new ones or perpetuating old ones inherited from Western Asia and acquiesced rather in the



FIG. 7—COVER OF CHINESE MUHAMMEDAN BRASS BOX



FIG. 8—CHINESE MUHAMMEDAN BRONZE VASES



FIG. 11—CAST-IRON FIGURE OF A MUHAMMEDAN



FIG. 12—BRONZE FIGURE OF A DANCING MUHAMMEDAN

application of Arabic calligraphy to Chinese types of vessels of bronze, porcelain, and glass. In my estimation there is artistic merit to this idea, and even he who does not read Arabic must be struck with the beauty, the ornamental quality, and esthetic value of these scrolls and flourishes. At any rate it is a memorable fact that the two most calligraphic systems of the Orient—Chinese and Arabic—have met in a pleasing and peaceful rendez-vous on Chinese soil and that Arabic calligraphy has proved itself adaptable to Chinese art and acceptable to Chinese taste. I do not enter here into a discussion of the question as to whether new forms of vessels were introduced to the Chinese by Muḥammedans; there are such forms indeed, but the problem is complex; there are forms, for instance, inherited from Sasanian art by both Arabs and Chinese and subsequently perpetuated almost anywhere in Asia, and there are others whose history cannot yet be exactly traced. I hope to take up this problem some day when publishing some Chinese Muḥammedan bronzes which are not characterized by Arabic inscriptions.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the presence on Chinese soil of a considerable Muḥammedan population gave rise in Chinese art to a figure type which we may tersely dub "the Muḥammedan." This type is a creation of the Ming period. As is well known, the T'ang artists, with their love of the exotic, were fond of representing foreign nations, especially the inhabitants of Central Asia, in both painting and sculpture (pictures of tribute-bearing nations, *kung chi t'u*, and clay figurines), but the T'ang artists were chiefly interested in racial types, and in naturalistic manner stressed peculiar physical characters which were prominently brought out, sometimes even exaggerated. In Ming art the emphasis on physical type vanishes behind the interest in costume and action. We meet a turbaned man hailing from somewhere in Central Asia, dancing, kneeling, squatting, usually carrying something on his head, without being able to tell whether he is an Iranian, Turk, or what; but according to Chinese definition he is merely a Hui-hui, a Muḥammedan. Here again, the idea of tribute-bearer is still in evidence, especially in connection with lions, e.g. a Muḥammedan astride a lion and carrying a candlestick on his head.

A cast-iron figure is shown in Fig. 11 (Cat. No. 120256; 56 cm. high). A well-modeled nude man from Central Asia is kneeling on a circular base, with the function of a caryatid and supporting on his head and hands a tray on which a lamp was placed. The lamp was lost when I obtained this object, but it is referred to in the inscription cast in raised characters on the base. It appears from this inscription that this figure was placed in a Buddhist temple in front of a statue representing the Bodhisatva Kshitigarbha and was cast by an iron-founder, Ch'en Ying-kü by name, in A.D. 1618 (46th year of the period Wan-li).

The Ming bronze figure of a dancing Muḥammedan (Cat. No. 117697; 38.1 cm. high) is illustrated in Fig. 12. He is equipped with a hood terminating in a lion's head, and wears ear-rings, a necklace, and a belt. He is clad in a long, embroidered coat with long sleeves; a short sword and a bowl are suspended from his girdle. A Muḥammedan is guiding a lion on which the Bodhisatva Avalokiteṣvara is seated—a unique conception in bronze (Fig. 13; Cat. No. 120179; 29.8 cm. high). It is reminiscent of the fact that live lions were frequently

sent as gifts to the Chinese court by rulers of Persia and Central Asia, being transported overland. The conception is the same as that of a Muḥammedan leading a giraffe.¹²

Three small clay figurines of Muḥammedans (*Fig. 14*) are selected from a large number (Cat. Nos. 119946, 119947, 119943; 9.1, 10.1, 10.2 cm. high). These were used as candle holders, being hollow and having a vertical perforation run through their heads into which the stick or straw supporting the candle was inserted. They were formed in molds and apparently turned out in large numbers. Two of the Muḥammedans play the lute called *p'i-p'a*, an instrument of Central-Asiatic origin. The third is shown in the pose of a Bodhisatva with bare, protruding belly which he duly emphasizes by petting it with his right hand. He is equipped with a conical hat, a broad nose, and a generous moustache.

The preceding representations of Muḥammedans are all works of the Ming period. I could illustrate many more examples of this kind, but those given will suffice to demonstrate the fact that Muḥammedans played a prominent role in the life and culture of China in the age of the Ming dynasty.

¹² Cf. my booklet *The Giraffe in History and Art*, plate IV and fig. 13.

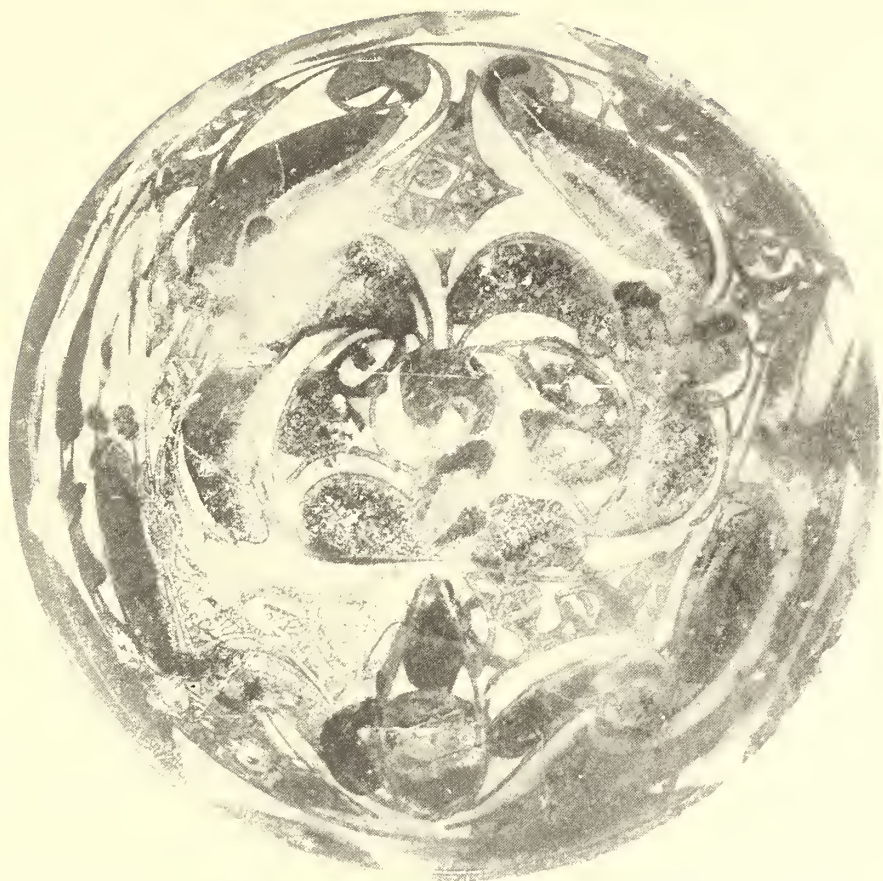


FIG. 1—SCHALE MIT RUBINLÜSTER, UM 850, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE
(NACH M. PÉZARD)



FIG. 2—NAPF MIT KAIRUWĀN-LÜSTER, UM 860, BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN
(NACH FR. SARRE)



FIG. 13—CHINESE BUDDHIST BRONZE IMAGE
A LION GUIDED BY A MUHAMMEDAN



FIG. 14—CHINESE CLAY FIGURINES OF MUHAMMEDANS USED AS CANDLE-HOLDERS

ES IST NICHT MEINE ABSICHT, DIE IN DEN LETZTEN JAHREN MIT VIEL EIFER UND WENIG Erfolg diskutierte Frage aufzugreifen, wo und wann die Erzeugung von Lüstereffekten auf Fayencen und Gläsern erfunden sein mag. Ich gestehe, dass mich die immer wieder für die ägyptische Provenienz vorgebrachten Argumente in keiner Weise überzeugt haben, aber selbst angenommen, dass schon vor dem VIII Jahrhundert das Geheimnis der Erzielung eines Metallglanzes ägyptischen Handwerkern bekannt war, so ist ihm doch erst unter den 'Abbāsiden im keramischen Dekor die Rolle zugewiesen worden, die dann zu der ungeheuren künstlerischen Bedeutung dieser Technik geführt hat. Wenn also, auf den bisherigen Ergebnissen der Forschung fussend, im Folgenden der Beweis erbracht werden sollte, dass die erste Anwendung der Lüstermalerei als solcher in Mesopotamien erfolgte, so kann es völlig gleichgültig bleiben, ob das Rezept dazu von einheimischen oder von fremden Töpfern stammte: die Frage des Primats im kunstgeschichtlichen Sinne wäre damit entschieden.

Unter den erhaltenen islamischen Lüsterfayencen hebt sich die durch neue Funde immer stattlicher angewachsene 'abbāsische Gruppe ziemlich klar und geschlossen ab, und es dürfte kaum bestritten sein, dass ihre Entstehung zwischen frühestens 800 und spätestens 1000 n. Chr. zu suchen sein wird. Dagegen ist man sich sonderbarer Weise nicht einig, ob sie an einem oder an mehreren Orten, vielleicht sogar in verschiedenen Ländern hergestellt wurde. Der keramische Befund lässt derartige Zweifel nicht zu: es ist immer dieselbe, äusserst fein geschlemmte, zwischen schwefliggelb und rosiggelb variierende Tonmasse und immer die gleiche, sehr glatt und regelmässig auf beiden Gefässwänden gestrichene, eher dicke und leicht abbröckelnde Glasur verwendet, so dass schon in ihren materiellen Voraussetzungen die Gattung unverkennbar jeder anderen Lüsterware fernsteht. Die Differenzen in der Tönung und in der Wahl der Motive erklären sich dann ohne Schwierigkeit durch das Nebeneinander verschiedener Werkstätten und durch eine längere Entwicklung. Man hat denn auch, als bei den Ausgrabungen von Sāmarrā diese Ware in grösseren Mengen zum Vorschein kam und mit anderen dort gefundenen Fayencegattungen die engsten Beziehungen aufwies, keinen Anstand genommen, sie als "Sāmarrā-Keramik" zu bezeichnen und ihr alle anderwärts aufgetauchten Beispiele gleicher Art zuzurechnen. Ch. Vignier war es, der 1914 in diese Harmonie der Meinungen einen Keil trieb, indem er die Behauptung aufstellte, dass die vielen in Persien und zwar in Ray ausgegrabenen 'abbāsischen Lüsterfayencen dort hergestellt und als eine Vorstufe der Produktion von Sāmarrā anzusehen seien.¹ Ihm haben sich M. Pézard und im wesentlichen auch R. Koechlin angeschlossen.² Andererseits halten A. J. Butler und Aly Bey Bahgat die im Nillande gefundene 'Sāmarrā-Keramik' wenigstens zum Teil für einheimische Fabrikation, und H. Gallois möchte auch die berühmten Ḳairawān-Fliesen trotz der von G.

¹ "New Excavations at Raghes," *Burlington Magazine*, XXV, July 1914.

² M. Pézard, *La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam et*

ses origines, Paris, 1920; R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1928.

Marçais für die Herkunft aus dem 'Irāk vorgebrachten Belege auf Ägypten zurückführen.³

Was zunächst die in Persien aufgetauchten, zu unserer Kategorie gehörigen Fayencen angeht, so müssen sie sämtlich dort importiert gewesen sein, und zwar aus folgenden Gründen:

1. Weder in der früheren, noch in der gleichzeitigen, noch in der gesamten späteren Keramik Persiens kommen Abarten vor, die hinsichtlich Ton und Glasur den Schluss erlauben, dass hier eine iranische Produktion vorliegt. Die gesamte Lüsterfayence insbesondere verwendet eine von der unsrigen völlig verschiedene Tonerde und kommt trotz mannigfacher Glasurvarianten in keinem Falle der "Sāmarrā"-Technik so nahe, dass an ein gemeinsames Zentrum gedacht werden könnte.

2. Der Dekor der 'abbāsiden Lüsterware findet in der gleichzeitigen sogenannten Gabri-Ware Persiens keine Parallelen; die Verschiedenheit des technischen Verfahrens genügt nicht zur Erklärung der auffallenden stilistischen Unterschiede.

3. Das erste datierte Beispiel persischer Lüsterfayence ist vom Jahre 1179,⁴ und unter dem ganzen gesicherten Bestande besitzen wir kein Stück, mit dem wir aus stilistischen Gründen auch nur bis auf die Mitte des XII Jahrh. zurückzugehen berechtigt wären. Wer also annimmt, im IX und noch im X Jahrh. habe es in Persien eine Lüsterindustrie gegeben, müsste eine Erklärung für ihren völligen Untergang und ihre erst zwei Jahrhunderte später erfolgte Neubegründung finden. Die ununterbrochene Blüte der keramischen Produktion in der ganzen Zwischenzeit bietet dazu nicht den geringsten Anhalt, legt vielmehr die Gewissheit nahe, dass man, einmal mit der Lüstererzeugung vertraut, diese unbedingt weiter gepflegt hätte.

Ganz anders, aber nicht minder klar liegt der Fall mit Ägypten. Unter den Tausenden von Lüster-Scherben, die in den Schutthügeln von Alt-Kairo zutage kamen, sondert sich der Sāmarrā-Typus ohne Weiteres ab, wenigstens für den, der für keramische Eigenart überhaupt Verständnis besitzt. Es gibt keine nachweislich ägyptische Ware, die auch nur annähernd denselben Ton und dieselben Glasuren zeigt, so dass auch hier Import vorliegen muss. Aber die Situation ist insofern von der in Persien verschieden, als hier sogleich eine heimische Fabrikation einsetzt, die die landfremde Fayence bald verdrängt. Wir begegnen unter den einwandfrei ägyptischen, stets einfarbig lüstrierten Fragmenten, die einen rötlichen Scherben und an den Aussenseiten der Gefäße eine auffallend dünn gestrichene Glasur zeigen, solchen, die in ihren Motiven unzweifelhaft der importierten Gattung nachgeahmt und allerfrühestens im IX Jahrh. entstanden sind. Es ist nicht unmöglich, dass Ibn Ṭūlūn, der in Bagdad und Sāmarrā mit 'abbāsiden Kunst eng vertraut geworden war, von dort ausser dem Stuckstil, den wir in seiner Moschee bewundern, auch Lüstergeschirr mitbrachte und vielleicht sogar Töpfer, um die Industrie im Nillande auf eigene Füße zu stellen. Die Anhänger der These

³ A. J. Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, London, 1926; Aly Bey Bahgat et Felix Massoul, *La Céramique musulmane de l'Égypte*, Le Caire, 1930; H. Gallois in *Aréthuse*, No.

28, 1930.

⁴ E. Kühnel, "Dated Persian lustered Pottery" *Eastern Art*, III, 1931.

vom ägyptischen Primat mögen einwenden, dass das nicht nötig war und dass es nur einer flüchtigen Anregung von aussen bedurfte, um sofort eine rege Entfaltung der Lüstermalerei zu bewirken, aber sie dürfen dann nicht, wie Aly Bey Bahgat, fremde mit heimischer Ware verwechseln oder gar, wie A. J. Butler, Schalenböden mit Fāṭimidendekor ins IX. Jahrh. setzen.⁵ Zu beachten wäre in diesem Zusammenhange noch die Tatsache, dass die in Ägypten (in Fustāt, Behnasā und Ashmunain) gefundene Importware der in Sāmarrā selbst ausgegrabenen entschieden näher steht, als die von Ray und dass sie sich ausschliesslich auf Lüsterfayence beschränkt, während in Persien auch andere "Sāmarrā-Keramik" in grösseren Mengen Eingang gefunden zu haben scheint.

Ist man erst einmal zu der Einsicht gelangt, dass die 'abbāsische Lüstergattung weder in Persien noch in Ägypten hergestellt sein kann, so wird man kaum noch zweifeln, dass ihre Heimat allein im 'Irāk zu suchen ist. Ein einziges, wirklich diskutables Argument ist gegen diese Provenienz vorgebracht worden: der Einwand nämlich, dass in Mesopotamien die Vorbedingungen für eine so plötzliche keramische Blüte nicht gegeben waren. Es ist richtig, dass die Funde bei den Ausgrabungen von Ktesiphon für die sasanidische Epoche nur auf eine verhältnismässig bescheidene Betätigung der Töpferkunst schliessen lassen, aber immerhin waren die grossen Traditionen, die noch in der Partherzeit zu reicher Entfaltung geführt hatten, nicht ganz vergessen, und es bedurfte nur eines mächtigen Impulses, wie ihn die Gründung von Baghdad als der neuen Metropole des Orients zweifellos bot, um das Handwerk zu neuen Glanzleistungen anzuspornen. Dass es an einer einheimischen Luxusware zunächst fehlte, beweist der Gebrauch von chinesischem Steinzeug und Porzellan noch in der Sāmarrā-Periode, als Überlaufglasuren und andere ostasiatische Techniken von den mesopotamischen Töpfern bereits mit sichtlichem Geschick gehandhabt und neue Fayencegattungen —z. B. mit kobaltblauem und türkisgrünem Dekor—auf den Markt gebracht wurden. Erst die Anwendung des Lüsterverfahrens erlaubte die Herstellung eines Prunkgeschirrs, das die Tang-Keramik zu verdrängen geeignet war, und man kann sich vorstellen, dass schon aus Prestigegründen der Kalifenhof alle in dieser Richtung unternommenen Versuche tatkräftig unterstützte. Niemand wird ernstlich behaupten wollen, dass alle Lüsterware im 'Irāk importiert gewesen sei; er müsste sonst bei objektiver Würdigung des keramischen Sachverhaltes dasselbe für sämtliche anderen, von F. Sarre⁶ zusammengestellten Sāmarrā-Fayencen zugeben und würde damit Hārūn al-Rashīd und seinen Nachfolgern ein Armutszeugnis ausstellen, das selbst bei den erbittertsten Ägyptomanen auf Widerstand stossen dürfte. Eine Ausnahme allerdings muss hier verzeichnet werden: die Reliefware mit einheitlicher, perlmutterartig lüstrierender Glasur, die in Sāmarrā, Ktesiphon und Susa ebenso vorkommt, wie in Fustāt, fällt durch einen andersartigen, ebenfalls feinen, aber harten, rötlichen Ton—abgesehen von ihrer sonstigen Eigenart—aus der Sāmarrā-Gruppe entschieden heraus und liesse sich daher auf ein Fabrikationszentrum zurückführen, das man, solange es an zuverlässigen Feststellun-

⁵ Aly Bey Bahgat, *loc. cit.* und Attributionen der Tafeln in *La Céramique égyptienne de l'époque musul-*

mane, Bâle, 1922; A. J. Butler, *loc. cit.* pl. IX.

⁶ Fr. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin, 1925.

gen fehlt, nach Belieben innerhalb oder ausserhalb des 'Irāk suchen mag. Hier wollen wir sie, da sie nicht als 'abbāsische Lüsterware in unserem Sinne, sondern höchstens als technisches Vorstadium für diese anzusprechen ist, ganz beiseitelassen.

Die Behauptung, dass die islamische Lüstermalerei vom 'Irāk ihren Ausgang genommen habe, wird man, glaube ich, bei sorgfältiger Würdigung aller keramischen Indizien nicht mehr widerlegen können. Überall, wo die Sāmarrā-Gattung auftritt, ist sie als Import zu erkennen, in Ägypten und Persien nicht minder als in Spanien,⁷ Nordafrika,⁸ Indien⁹ und Turkestan,¹⁰ und schon für ihre ungeheure Verbreitung dürfte sich keine plausible Erklärung finden lassen, als dass hier tatsächlich eine überraschende Neuerung vorlag, die in der ganzen Welt begehrt wurde. Das erhaltene Material gestattet aber noch weitere Schlüsse hinsichtlich der Lokalisierung, der Datierung und der stilistischen Entwicklung.

Man hat mehrfach angenommen, dass Sāmarrā selbst als Fabrikationsort für die ausgegrabenen und nach ihm benannten Fayencen in Frage kommt.¹¹ Dem widerspricht, ganz abgesehen davon, dass weder Brennöfen noch Fehlbrände festgestellt wurden, der Umstand, dass die erhaltenen Lüstererzeugnisse sich auf einen Zeitraum verteilen, der über die Lebensdauer von Sāmarrā (838–883) zweifellos hinausgeht. Wir wissen, dass die Stadt schon um 900 verlassen und zerstört war—der Kalif al-Mu'tazz bezeugt es selbst—aber unter der Fayencegattung, die uns hier beschäftigt, sind Beispiele, die aus noch zu erörternden Gründen erst im X Jahrhundert entstanden sein können. Wir müssen also mit der Gewissheit rechnen, dass sie anderwärts hergestellt waren, und zwar an einem Ort, der so nahe bei Sāmarrā lag, dass er den gesamten keramischen Bedarf der Residenz zu decken vermochte. Alle Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht für Baghdad, das als wichtiges Töpferzentrum ausdrücklich erwähnt wird,¹² und das für eine schnelle Verbreitung seiner keramischen Erzeugnisse nach allen islamischen Ländern die denkbar besten Verbindungen besass. Sogenannte "Sāmarrā-Keramik" ist übrigens im Gebiet der ehemaligen "Runden Stadt" gelegentlich festgestellt worden,¹³ aber an sicheren Anhaltspunkten, dass sie dort auch gefertigt wurde, fehlt es ganz, und eine bestimmte Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Produktionsort lässt sich vorerst leider noch nicht geben.

Besser sind wir hinsichtlich des Zeitproblems gestellt, das bei sorgfältiger Sichtung des erhaltenen Materials nach technischen und stilistischen Gesichtspunkten eine ziemlich einwandfreie Lösung ergibt. Ich will versuchen, im Folgenden die Entwicklung zu skizzieren,

⁷ Velazquez y Bosco, *Medina Azzahra y Alamiya*, Madrid, 1912, lam. 49–52.

⁸ G. Marçais, *Les Fayences à reflets métalliques de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris, 1928. Die in der Kal'at der Benī Hammād gefundenen Lüsterscherben habe ich nicht genauer geprüft, rechne aber mit der Möglichkeit, dass es sich um Fātimidenware handelt und lasse sie daher ausser Betracht.

⁹ Brahminābād, cf. R. L. Hobson, *Guide to the Islamic Pottery*. London, 1932, p. 8.

¹⁰ Scherbenfunde aus Afrāsiyāb bei Samarkand im Victoria and Albert Museum, R. L. Hobson, *loc. cit.* p. 10, und in der Islamischen Abteilung der Berliner Museen.

¹¹ Fr. Sarre, *loc. cit.*, gelegentlich auch andere Autoren.

¹² J. v. Karabacek, "Zur muslimischen Keramik" *Monatsschrift f. d. Orient*, 1884, No. 12.

¹³ Fr. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin, 1920, II, pp. 114s.

die danach die Lüsterindustrie von Baghdad—oder, vorsichtiger gesagt, des 'Irāk—genommen haben dürfte und verweise wegen der genaueren Beschreibung der einzelnen Stücke auf die einschlägige Literatur, vor allem die gründlichen Publikationen von Fr. Sarre und R. Koechlin.¹⁴

Wenn man von der wohl nicht unberechtigten Voraussetzung ausgeht, dass die Lüsterfayence berufen war, ostasiatisches Porzellan und Steinzeug nach Möglichkeit zu verdrängen, so muss man annehmen, dass sie vor der Gründung von Sāmarrā noch nicht bestand. Andernfalls wäre dort die Chinaware kaum in grösseren Mengen angetroffen worden. Aber selbst zugegeben, dass beide Luxusgattungen—zumal im Haushalt des Khalifen—lange nebeneinander bestanden haben dürften: in Sāmarrā selbst lässt sich jedenfalls das Lüsterverfahren bis in sein erstes Stadium zurückverfolgen. Es zeigt sich an schlichten Näpfen und Krügen mit weisser Glasur, deren Aussenseite völlig mit z.T. über den Rand rinnender, rubinroter Lüsterbemalung bedeckt wird (Fr. Sarre, Taf. XVII, 4). Die erste Zeichnung begegnet uns auf einigen Schalen mit einem Palmett- oder Arabeskenmuster auf Weissm Grunde in verschwimmendem Rubinluster, der von stark leuchtendem Goldluster konturiert und detailliert wird, während die Aussenfläche auch hier in einheitlichem Rubinton erglänzt (*Fig. 1*, vgl. ferner R. Koechlin, pl. XXII, 157 und M. S. Dimand, *Fig. 91*). Sind hier schon wenigstens zwei Lüsternuancen verwendet, so wird ihre Zahl noch gesteigert in einem der prächtigsten Sāmarrāfunde (Fr. Sarre, Taf. XVII, 1–3) der bei ähnlichem Dekor Gold-, Gelb-, Rubin-, und Purpurluster nebeneinander zeigt, aussen Strichtupfen in wechselnd gelbem und rotem Luster auf weisser Glasur. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, dass die soeben erwähnte, in sich geschlossene Gruppe aus einer und derselben Werkstatt hervorgegangen ist, deren Tätigkeit man noch vor 850 anzusetzen geneigt wäre. Der für sie charakteristische Rubinluster mit der leichten, an Ostasien erinnernden Überlaufwirkung findet sich bei den späteren Gattungen nicht mehr, und auch in den Motiven tritt ein bemerkenswerter Wandel ein.¹⁵

Die nächste Serie verwendet ebenfalls noch mehrere Lüstertöne, aber vorherrschend ist ein bisher unbekanntes, kräftiges Lackbraun neben Gelb, Gold und Flaschengrün. Die Musterung wird am besten charakterisiert durch die bekannten Fliesen von Ḳairawān, die nach den einleuchtenden Darlegungen von G. Marçais wahrscheinlich 862 am Mihrāb von Sīdī 'Oḳba eingesetzt wurden.¹⁶ Sie zeigen meist grosszügig aufgefasste, ausserordentlich mannigfaltig stilisierte Glatt- und Blütengebilde—vor allem viele Varianten von Flügelpalmetten—die durch Kräusel-, Gräten- und Tupfenmuster eigenartig detailliert wurden, offenbar in der

¹⁴ Ausser den bereits erwähnten Werken sind im Folgenden gelegentlich zitiert: G. Migeon, *L'Orient musulman*, Paris, 1922 und M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930.

¹⁵ Dieselbe reiche Skala lässt sich auch auf einigen der bunt gesprenkelten und mit Hähnen in Kränzen verzierten Sāmarrāfliesen (Fr. Sarre, Taf. XXII) feststellen. Sie dürften ebenfalls sehr früh, aber in einem Sonder-

betrieb entstanden sein.

¹⁶ G. Marçais, *loc. cit.* Als sicheren Import sehe ich mit Marçais nur die polychrome Serie an; die einfarbigen Stücke mögen tatsächlich nachträglich hergestellt sein, aber ob das in Ḳairawān selbst geschehen konnte, müsste erst eine genaue Nachprüfung des Materials ergeben. Stilistisch gehören auch sie unbedingt in die 'Irāk-Richtung.

Absicht, dadurch den Lüstereffekt stärker und doch mit einer gewissen Diskretion zur Geltung zu bringen. Ein in Sāmarrā ausgegrabener Napf mit Flügelmotiv in vier Lüsternuancen, innen mit Strichtupfen (*Fig. 2*), beweist eindeutig die gemeinsame Provenienz, und andere bekannte Stücke, wie die Schüssel aus Bahnasā und die Gulbenkian-Schale im Louvre (G. Migeon, pl. 16, vgl. a. M. S. Dimand, *Fig. 93* und R. Koechlin, pl. XXI, 143) finden in Ḳairawān ihre engsten Parallelen. Äusserst fein in der Ausführung war eine flache Schale aus Sāmarrā (Fr. Sarre, *Taf. XVII, 5–10*), die den üblichen minutiösen Dekor aussen, dagegen innen breit geführte Volutenranken mit Dreieckblättern in grünem und gelbem Lüster aufwies. Ähnliches vegetabiles Ornament wird gelegentlich auch unter gänzlicher Weglassung des Kleinwerks angebracht, so auf einem Krug aus Susa (R. Koechlin, pl. XXII,

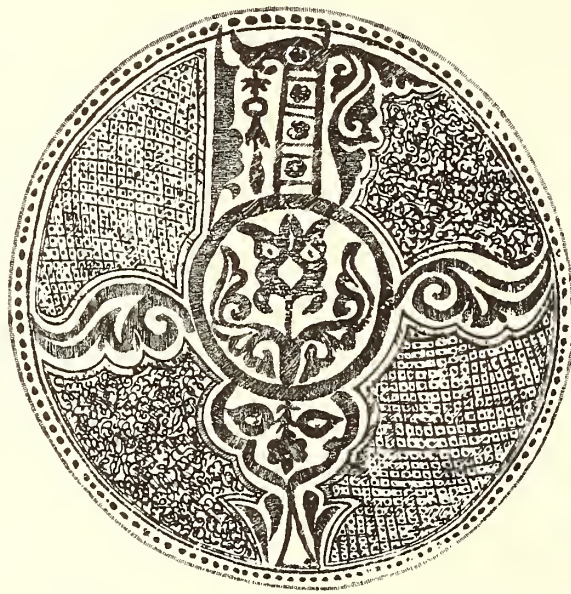


FIG. 4—SCHÜSSEL MIT ADLER, UM 870
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

158). Wir dürften wohl kaum fehlgehen, wenn wir die Blütezeit dieser Gruppe um 860 ansetzen. Sie bezeichnet insofern den Höhepunkt der ganzen Entwicklung, als hier besonders wirkungsvolle Lüstereffekte mit völlig homogenen Mitteln erzielt wurden.

Eine dritte, fast gleichzeitig einsetzende Werkstatt beschränkte sich auf die gelbe und rotbraune Lüstrierung, verwendete nur ausnahmsweise auf den einfarbig gehaltenen Aussen-seiten noch eine grünlichbraune Tönung und zeigt eine sonst ungewöhnliche Vorliebe für Blattstengel und Blütenzweige (*Fig. 3*, vgl. auch Fr. Sarre, *Taf. XIII, 1* u. *Fig. 95*, R. Koechlin, pl. XXI u. XXII, M. Pézard, pl. 133). Den engen Zusammenhang mit der eben besprochenen Serie erweisen einige der einfarbigen Ḳairawān-Fliesen (G. Marçais, pls. V, VI) und Schalen wie die im British Museum (R. L. Hobson, *Fig. 7*), die Blattzweige, Kräu-

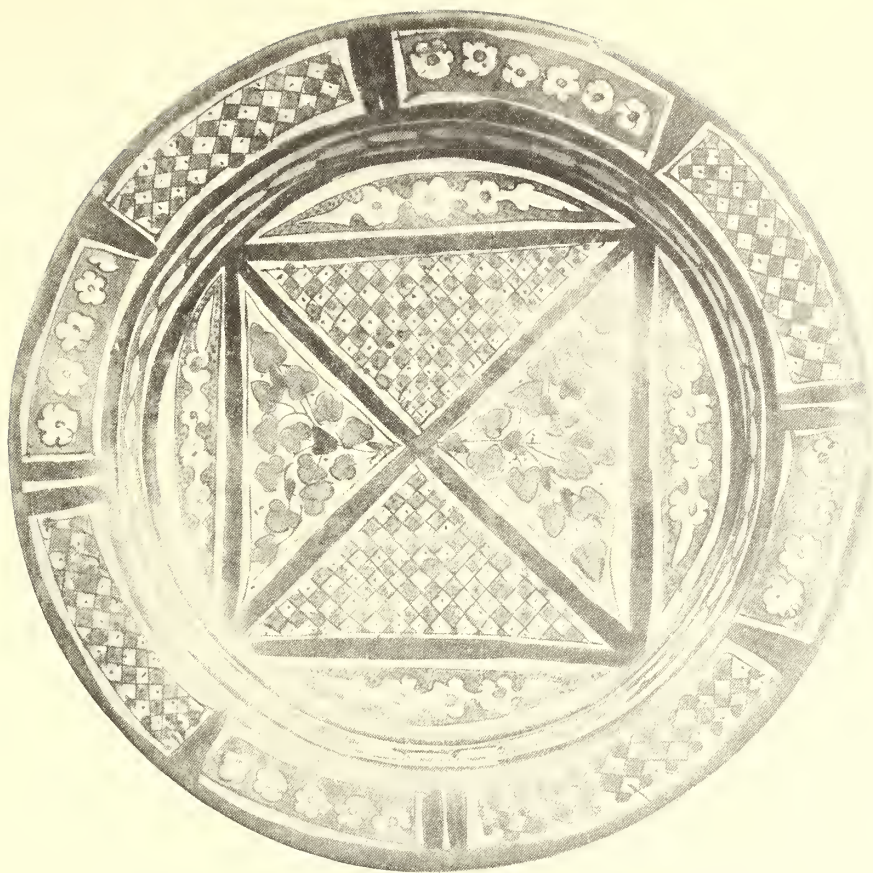


FIG. 3—SCHALE MIT BRAUNEM UND GELBEM LÜSTER, UM 870
LONDON, SAMMLUNG D. K. KELEKIAN
(NACH M. PÉZARD)



FIG. 5—SCHALE MIT EINFARBIGEM LÜSTER, UM 875, PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE
(NACH M. PÉZARD)

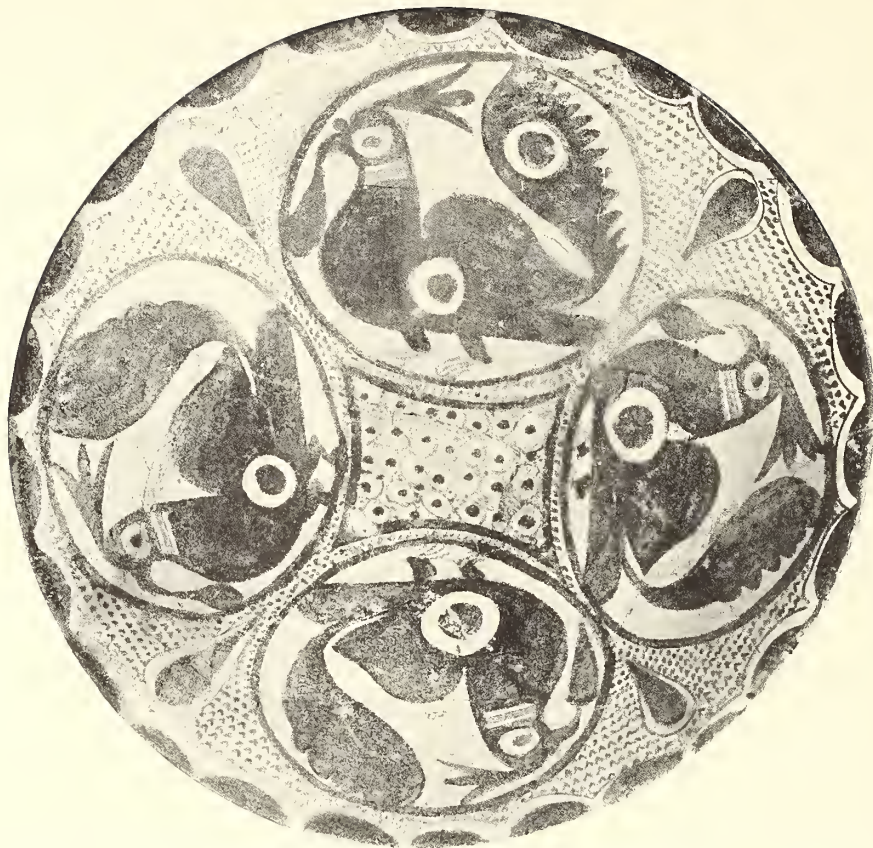


FIG. 6—SCHALE MIT EINFARBIGEM LÜSTER, UM 880, BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN



FIG. 7—SCHALE MIT EINFARBIGEM LÜSTER, UM 950

sel- und Grätendekor vereinigt. Auch Gittermuster sind bei dieser Richtung beliebt; sie füllen neben dichtem Schnörkelwerk den Grund der bekannten Adlerschale aus Sāmarrā (*Fig. 4*, Fr. Sarre, Taf. XXIII), die wir als besonders prächtiges Beispiel der braungelben Lüsterware ansehen dürfen und die ihrerseits durch das glänzend stilisierte Vogelmotiv¹⁷ den Anschluss der so wuchtig in schönem Braunluster auf blendendem Weiss bemalten Tier- und Rankenfliesen (Fr. Sarre, Figs. 126–130) an diese Gruppe gestattet. Ausserdem bietet sich uns hier eine andere interessante Parallele zu den Blatzweigen und heraldischen Motiven, die bei einer ganzen Anzahl blau-weisser 'Abbāsiden-Fayencen den im allgemeinen spärlichen Dekor bestreiten (F. Sarre, Figs. 99, 103, 104; R. Koechlin, pls. XI, 83 und XII, 92; M. Pézard, pl. 103; R. L. Hobson, Figs. 10, 11) und zweifellos auf gegenseitige Beeinflussung hindeuten. Wenn wir annehmen, dass diese Stilrichtung gegen 870 vorherrschend war, so setzen wir damit zugleich einen ungefähren Zeitpunkt fest für das Ende der mehrfarbigen Lüsterbemalung überhaupt.

Man muss natürlich mit der Wahrscheinlichkeit rechnen, dass gleichzeitig mit den polychromen von vornherein auch eintonige Lüsterfayencen hergestellt wurden: sonderbarerweise sind aber die in Sāmarrā ausgegrabenen Beispiele dieser Ware so derb und grob in der Zeichnung, dass man sich gezwungen sieht, sie sämtlich ans Ende der dortigen Periode zu setzen. Die einheitliche Lüstrierung ist oft von schönem Goldgelb, in anderen Fällen grünlich oder grüngelb, manchmal auch olivbraun. Flüchtiges Schnörkelwerk und Buchstaben-gekritzeln, in Kreise oder Ovale gefasst, bilden den bescheidenen Dekor (Fr. Sarre, Taf. XIV, 2, XV, 1, 4 und XVI, 1), bisweilen auch breiter gestrichene Ornamente. Tierdarstellungen kommen garnicht vor, und da diese unter den anderwärts gemachten Funden desto häufiger sind, könnte man versucht sein, zu glauben, dass sie lediglich für Exportgut zur Anwendung kamen.¹⁸ In Wirklichkeit fehlen sie aber nur deshalb, weil sie einer Gattung angehören, die erst nach 880 zur vollen Entfaltung gelangte, in Sāmarrā also nicht mehr in Gebrauch war. Immerhin sind unter dem erhaltenen Bestand einige Stücke, die den unmittelbaren Anschluss an die vorher betrachteten Gruppen untrüglich erweisen. Die schöne Greifenschale des Louvre (*Fig. 5*) zeigt das Tier auf glattem Grunde, in einer Stilisierung, die zweifellos noch an die der erwähnten Adlerschüssel erinnert; der Flügel und ein Streifen um den Leib sind in denselben Kreistupfen detailliert, wie sie die Ḳairawān-Phase ausbildete, und die Rückseite hat flüchtige Tupfen- und Strichbemalung, wie wir sie ebenfalls bereits kennen. Eine Datierung um 875 wäre angemessen, wenn unsere Voraussetzungen richtig sind. Nicht minder aufschlussreich ist die sehr ausgebleichene Berliner Pfauenschale (*Fig. 6*), die in der Mitte wiederum dieselben Ḳairawān-Tupfen enthält—übrigens ein typisches Kontrastmuster für mehrfarbigen Luster, also hier ziemlich zwecklos—und damit ebenfalls an die

¹⁷ Man wird schwerlich H. Gallois, *Aréthuse*, Oct. 1928, p. 14, zustimmen, dass hier eine Kanne dargestellt sei.

¹⁸ Die von Fr. Sarre, *loc. cit.* gemachte Beobachtung, dass die nach Persien und Ägypten ausgeführten Stücke

in der Wandung dicker hergestellt wurden, als die in Sāmarrā gebrauchten, habe ich nicht allgemein bestätigt gefunden. Es dürfte sich da wohl nur um zufällige Abweichungen, bezw. um eine Erscheinung der Spätzeit handeln.

erwähnte Vorstufe anschliesst. Die Vögel heben sich in weissen Scheiben von dem Hintergrund ab, der hier zum ersten Male ein Muster von dichter, punzenartiger Strichelung zeigt. Diese Grundierung kommt ein einziges Mal in Sāmarrā vor, bei einem Schälchen mit Wunschinschrift (F. Sarre, Taf. XIV, 2), das aus dem übrigen Fundmaterial so herausfällt, dass wir es unbedingt nach 880 ansetzen müssen.

Die anderen bisher bekannt gewordenen, mit Tieren oder menschlichen Darstellungen geschmückten, vor allem die in Ray gefundenen 'abbāsidschen Lüsterfayencen (Vgl. bes. M. Pézard, pls. 114–118, 121) dürften danach frühestens gegen 900, grösstenteils aber wohl erst im vollen X Jahrhundert entstanden sein. Diejenigen, die Motive auf ganz weissem Grund zeigen, wie die bekannte Kelekian-Schale (*Syria*, 1924, pl. XXI) halten offenbar nur eine andere Werkstatt-Tradition fest als die Mehrzahl, für die der erwähnte punzierte Hintergrund charakteristisch ist. Bei sorgfältiger Ausführung bedeckt er in winzigen Haken gleichmässig die Fläche, bei mässigen Stücken dagegen erscheint er in groben Tupfen ziemlich stumpfsinnig gereiht. Als späte Erzeugnisse der Lüsterindustrie des 'Irāk sind auch die Gefässe anzusehen, von denen bei den Ausgrabungen von Medina az-Zahra bei Cordova Fragmente zum Vorschein kamen, und die sicher bei der Gründung dieses Lustsitzes (937) noch nicht lange im Haushalt 'Abd al-Raḥmans III sich befanden.¹⁹ Ebenso scheint die aus Brahminābād stammende Lüsterware vorwiegend der letzten Phase anzugehören (vgl. R. L. Hobson, Fig. 14),²⁰ als deren Ausklang Exemplare wie die Schale mit den beiden Stieren (*Fig. 7*) gelten müssen, die erst um 950 entstanden sein können. Hier ist auch die Rückseite noch flüchtiger behandelt, als bei den übrigen Beispielen mit einfarbigem Lüster, die eigentlich alle denselben Aussendekor haben: Punkttupfen an dünnen Strichen, unterbrochen durch Kreise mit Schnörkeln u. dergl. Es sind das Reminiszenzen an Bildungen, die um 860 auf der Sichtseite der Objekte aufgetreten waren; in viel stärkerem Masse wird aber die Kontinuität deutlich in dem selbst bei den letzten Ausläufern noch üblichen Randmotiv der Bogensegmente, das zum ersten Male bei der Rubingattung auftaucht, sich also über ein ganzes Jahrhundert gehalten und auch auf die blau-weisse 'Irāk-Fayence übergegriffen hat. Der Schriftdekor dagegen tritt allgemein erst in der Spätzeit auf und bietet kaum genauere chronologische Anhaltspunkte. Er beschränkt sich auf einen mit wenigen Ausnahmen stets wiederkehrenden, oft abgekürzten oder verstümmelten Segenswunsch für den Besitzer.²¹ Die wenigen erhaltenen Signaturen im äusseren Boden der Gefässe schliesslich (Ḥabīb, Muṣlīm, 'Alī, Abū Shaddād u.a.) sind, solange wir über die Meister nichts Genaueres wissen, ebenfalls ohne Belang für die Einordnung.

Der im Vorhergehenden unternommene Versuch zeigt, dass es durchaus möglich ist, die 'abbāsidsche Lüsterware auf den Zeitraum von etwas mehr als einem Jahrhundert so zu

¹⁹ Vgl. Anm. 7.

²⁰ Interessant ist die von R. L. Hobson, *loc. cit.* bemerkte Tatsache, dass Ende X Jahrh. enge Beziehungen der Fürstenfamilie von Brahminābād nach Baghdad

bestanden.

²¹ S. Flury, "Une formule épigraphique dans la céramique musulmane," *Syria*, 1924, pp. 53s.

verteilen, dass die Chronologie mit der technischen und motivischen Entwicklung einiger-massen übereingeht. Gewiss werden in der einen oder anderen Hinsicht noch Korrekturen nötig sein, aber soweit dürfte der Ablauf doch wohl klar liegen, dass man künftig nicht mehr mit Ch. Vignier und R. Koechlin die in Ray gefundenen monochromen Lüsterfayencen mit Strichelgrund an den Anfang statt ans Ende der ganzen Periode setzt. Vor allem kam es mir darauf an, die Geschlossenheit der gesamten Gattung, ihre Herkunft aus einem und demselben Zentrum und den Vorrang des 'Irāk in der Lüstermalerei darzutun. Ziemlich genau mit dem Beginn der Fāṭimiden-Epoche (970) übernimmt Kairo die Führung, und die Tatsache, dass von diesem Zeitpunkt an Lüsterware vom 'Irāk nicht mehr nachzuweisen ist, spricht für die schon von O. Raphael²² ausgesprochene Vermutung, dass die mit dem Verfahren vertrauten Töpfer in die neu gegründete ägyptische Hauptstadt abwanderten. Vielleicht waren sie Shī'iten und versprachen sich von den Fāṭimidenkalifen besondere Förderung. Man könnte noch weiter gehen und den Umstand, dass zwei Jahrhunderte später gleichzeitig mit dem Sturz der Fāṭimiden (1170) die Lüsterindustrie von Ray ihren Anfang nimmt, mit einer Übersiedlung shī'itischer Meister nach Persien in Zusammenhang bringen. Die bekannte Notiz bei Nāṣir-i Khusraw, der gegen 1050 seiner Bewunderung über die in Ägypten hergestellten "schillernden" Fayencen Ausdruck gab, erscheint danach sehr plausibel: Lüstergeschirr—vorausgesetzt, dass er solches gemeint hat—gab es damals in Persien noch nicht und im 'Irāk nicht mehr; es wäre also sehr wohl denkbar, dass es ihm in Kairo zum ersten Male auffiel. Man scheint damals das Lüstergeheimnis noch möglichst gehütet zu haben; die Sāmāniden jedenfalls kannten das Rezept nicht, wie viele Turkestan-Fayencen des X Jahrh. erweisen,²³ die sich vergeblich bemühen, in den Glasurtönen und selbst in der Übernahme zeichnerischer Eigentümlichkeiten—Strichelgrund, Kräuselmuster u. dgl.—annähernde "Sāmarrā"-Effekte zu erzielen.

²² Raphael, "Some Notes on the Early Pottery of the Near East," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic So-*

ciety, 1925/26.

²³ M. Pézard, *loc. cit.* pls. 92-94.

SINO-MONGOLIAN TEMPLE PAINTING AND ITS INFLUENCE ON PERSIAN ILLUMINATION

BY ERNST DIEZ

IT HAS BEEN LONG KNOWN THAT PERSIAN ILLUMINATION WAS NOT REALLY STARTED TILL after the fall of Baghdad (656/1258), and that its abundant development would not have been possible without the influence of Chinese painting, or rather, that it would have taken an entirely different way. Yet the question as to the effect of this far east influence on Persian illumination has never yet been answered satisfactorily. It can only be answered by means of comparative formal analysis, for which up to now no material was produced. A means for the methodical solution of this problem seems to be afforded by a small collection of Mongolian paintings obtained in Peiping in 1930.¹

It is obvious why such paintings as are shown here were hitherto unknown to history of art. They had not yet found their way into international art dealing, but were lying secluded in dusty chests in remote monasteries. They do not form a part of that hieratic and academic Chinese painting, officially recognized by history of art, which continued to exist in the Mongolian period, but reveal few truly Mongolian features, and had no influence on Persia whatsoever. The most ancient forerunners of the painting shown here are to be found in Tun-huang, the remote cave temples of which have escaped the customary destruction of temples and their paintings in China, and which give us a conception of temple painting in the T'ang period. We know from the publications of Sir Aurel Stein and Professor P. Pelliot that this temple and monastery painting in China from the very beginning was not confined to certain groups of subjects, as was the academic painting at the courts of princes and in the Ch'an monasteries, but that its scope was much wider and more popular. The history of this branch of Chinese and Mongolian painting has hitherto been unknown. The few fragments of mural paintings which till now have been brought to this country and to England and were published by Mr. L. Binyon, for the greater part only give us a conception of the representation of divine figures, which are of interest merely from the iconographic point of view. Parts of human figures, animals, and flowers are to be found on small fragments, yet naturally we can only obtain an entirely fragmentary and unsatisfying conception from these heavy wall-fragments, which were broken off in different places and transported to our museums.

From the T'ang period, as it is represented in Tun-huang, up to the present day painting, a popular art was cultivated in the hundreds of Chinese and Mongolian monasteries, which extended as far as the Pamir. We do not yet know anything of this art, because it has not been considered worth while to investigate systematically the numerous existing remains. In villages not far from Peiping small temples comparable to our chapels are to be found; they are dedicated to the Dragon God of rains and other celestial powers and

¹ E. Diez, "Another Branch of Chinese Painting,"
Parnassus, vol. II, no. VI, Oct. 1930, p. 35. The pictures

reproduced here belong to the collection of the author.

covered with paintings. They open an entirely new page of Chinese art, comparable to North European ecclesiastical painting. The pictures in the chapel of Hei-lung-t'an in the Western Hills represent the fertilization of the ground by a thunderstorm, a rainbow, harvesting and sacrifices to the Dragon God for the harvest. Like the pictures that we are discussing here, they are painted on paper and attached on the walls like wall-paper. As many other temples which are adorned in this way prove, this was the popular technique of decorating the temple walls in Northern China and Mongolia.

Let us now look at the picture reproduced in Fig. 1. The scene is a meadow with two male figures in the foreground and a tree in the background which seems to be connected with the figures by a band of clouds. Behind there is a confined space with stags feeding. Bands of clouds complete the picture, which is characterised by the seemingly arbitrary combination of naturalistic and stylised elements. The old man, whose pose and expression are exaggerated, stands beside a natural looking youth, and a stripe of pink and yellow clouds, which has assumed a dragon-like shape and by means of its symmetrical curves has an animal-like dynamic effect, hovers over the landscape. At the top appear the extraordinarily animated and graceful naturalistically drawn stags, which, however, are composed like a triquetrum. Evidently the painter worked under the influence of various traditions, which he tried with great skill to bring to a pictorial denominator. The old man at the bottom stands towards the inside of the picture and has his head turned outwards, looking back intently. Yet it is useless to attempt to reveal the component parts of this attitude. No satisfactory result could be obtained, from the very fact that such problems were unknown to the painter. Where his formal problems lay will be shown by the next step in the analysis, the consideration of the separate parts of the body and its raiment. In a way that we today are used to call cubistic, the tendons and muscles of the legs are dissected into parts contrasted in light and shade. This is done in a very skillful manner, which aims at the dissolution of the natural structure into sharply outlined, isolated, convex and concave parts, into spiral surfaces, hollows and edges of every kind. Yet this stereotomy does not remain so abstract as it should, but allows itself here and there animalic animations. Thus the foot of the weight leg is given the appearance of an animal's head by means of the setting in of an eye and the giving of emphasized contours to the toes. And when the weight leg is looked at horizontally a long beaked bird with its head bent back may be seen. If one goes on looking for such puzzle-pictures there are plenty to be found. The right arm with the opening of the sleeve, looked at from the side, is like a camel's head, the eye of which is suggested by the conspicuous hollow in the arm; the youth's right hand imitates a bird's head, by means of the slight raising of the forefinger, while his head seems to be crowned with antlers; the cloud above has a dragon's face; the tree opens its trunk and branches with animal-like eyes, so that animals' heads seem to be peering out of the foliage; and the rock formation in the right corner at the top of the tree is like a gigantic bird. The stags alone are drawn in a strictly naturalistic manner, the vitality and naturalness of their pose is even remarkable, although they are fitted into the whirl scheme. The subject of our representation is a Taoistic sorcerer,

who once left his body in order to take a look at the higher regions, and on his return did not find it, as it had been buried, and so was forced to take on the body of a beggar who had just died. Even if the intention was to show a beggar's thinness in the legs, this does not explain the formal stylisation, which is carried out with a precision which rather indicates an ancient tradition and long practice. The question arises as to what was the origin of this strange interpretation and this animalising of the details.

A parallel for such treatment of human and animal limbs is found only in the North Asiatic animal style, so that the acceptance of influence from there or of an aim for cubistic stylization similar to the former seems obvious. Though the Scythian bronzes and their descendants in China during the Han period as the classical bearers of this animal style are too remote to be used here as material for comparison, yet Mongolian folk-art proves its continuity through centuries. The birchbark ornamentation of the Amur tribes for instance, shows the same transmutation between branch, bird and quadruped as is so characteristic of the whole animal ornamentation. As in the Scythian bronzes, animals are ornamented here too with other animals and abstract curves changed from wings of birds into dragons.² These tribes were so accustomed to having their utensils end in animal heads that it was natural for this idiosyncrasy to be taken over into painting. Another element of this animal style is the dissecting outlining of the joints. The three stags form a naturalistically transformed triquetrum, which throughout the middle ages had spread over all northern countries from the Atlantic to the Pacific in numerous variations.³ The band of clouds in our picture, consisting of curved and spiraled bands, is nothing but a Mongolised Chinese cloud band.

When we now examine the Taoistic saint depicted in Fig. 2 again we are surprised by the manner in which he is constructed out of naturalistic and abstract forms. The most conspicuous part of the picture is the hem of his cloak, scalloped like a shark's teeth, which is terrifying in its suggestive power. The folds of his garment are arranged antithetically on each side of his visible foot, and resemble a dolphin's or a dragon's head. By looking down his right side, a profile with a long beard, outlined by the contours of the drapery, may be seen. The head needs no commentary. The band of clouds at the top is animalised in the form of a dragon.

The compositions of these pictures as a whole are built up entirely on the curve system and thus achieve a dynamo-motoric effect quite like that of folk-ornamentation. Static rest is unknown to these figures, as if they belonged to a quite different world, which is indeed the case. As in almost all animal heads in the animal style, in our pictures also the heads of the human figures are turned on another axis as a matter of principle.

If we compare these pictures with the big series of Arhats of Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei of the end of the twelfth century, a number of which are in the Boston Museum, we find that the style of the latter, i.e. the official Sung style in China, has little in common with ours. The resemblance is confined to the type of the masculine figures, and to the ren-

² B. Laufer, *The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes*, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol.

IV, plates.

³ P. Sarasin, *Helios und Keraunos*, pp. 64 ff.

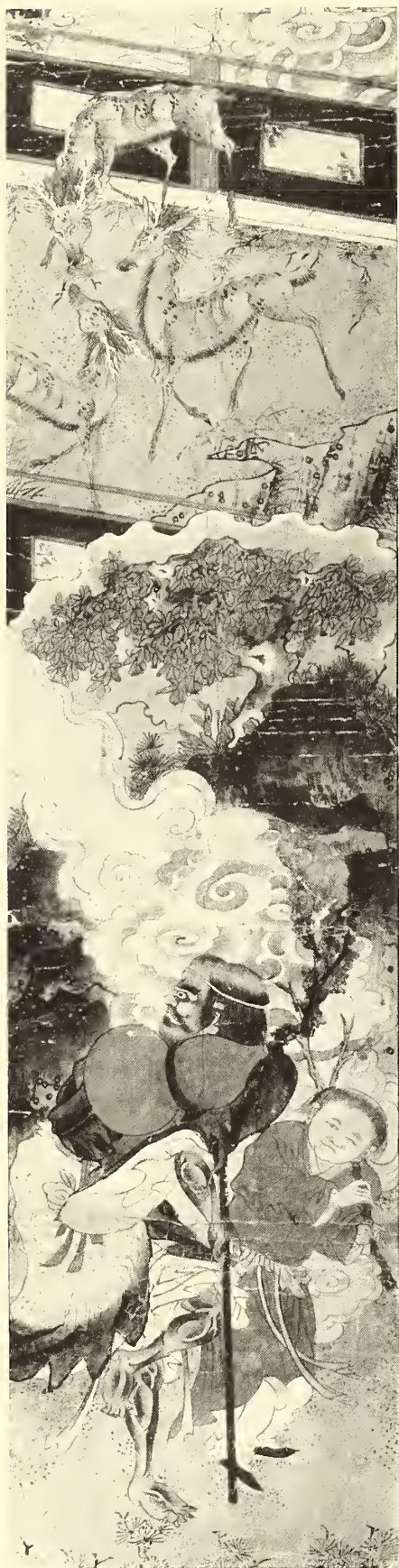


FIG. 1—TAOISTIC SORCERER, MONGOLIAN



FIG. 2—TAOISTIC SAINT, MONGOLIAN



FIGS. 3, 4—TAOISTIC SAINTS, MONGOLIAN
BRYN MAWR, E. DIEZ COLLECTION

dering of the folds to a certain extent. The animalising in the figures, trees and clouds is suppressed. The arrangement of space is quite different. The horizon, which is usually placed in the centre of the picture, distinguishes clearly between earth and sky and the figures have plenty of room to move naturally in the space assigned to them. In our pictures, on the contrary, the illusion of the third dimension is suppressed by the bands of clouds drawn in between figure and background. Moreover, in the Chinese pictures a conspicuous verticalism of the standing figures and a corresponding stability prevail, while irrational curve-dynamic characterises the Mongolian paintings. Early evidence of this tendency to demonise vegetable and cosmic as well as abstract forms, is offered by the legend of Kuei tzu mu chen, the mother of the demon children, a picture scroll going back to Li Lung-mien in the Guimet Museum.⁴ Demons of partly anthropomorphous and partly vegetable form are to be found there. The tendency to animate clouds, rocks and trees by means of a dynamising of the outlines continues in Chinese art and imparts to it an irrational cosmic animation. It is specially noticeable in later works, such as Shih chu chai shu hua ts'e, the Album of Writings and Paintings of the Ten Bamboos Studio, which was published in Nanking at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in which rocks especially are endowed with life.

Let us now turn to the Mongolian illumination in Persia to see how far our pictures may be able to explain their "Chinese" derivation. Ph. W. Schulz made a distinction between a Persian-Mongolian and a Chinese-Mongolian school in Persia, distinguishing thus correctly between illumination of the Mongolian period, which continued more the Persian tradition and technique, and a strong Chinese tendency. He classes the *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh* from 714/1314 of the Royal Asiatic Society, London⁵ in the latter category, to which the *Shāh Nāme* Demotte of the fourteenth century⁶ also belongs. In both manuscripts, in the latter more than in the former, we find a splintered, pointed brush technique like in our pictures. This technique was unknown in Persia before the Mongolian invasion and was caused by the using of the *kalam* instead of the brush. Every fine line could be drawn with the brush, but the rising and falling of splintered contours of mountains and trees needed the *kalam*. In these "Persian" miniatures we notice not only the same treatment of the tree foliage but also the same inclination to animalising by means of exaggerated bends in branches and setting in of eyes. There is an enormous amount of movement in mountains and trees. A brook issues from the mountains, twists like a snake and has the ornamental skin of this reptile. This genre continues in Persia right into the fifteenth century. In the illustration of a fairy tale, c. 1440, the rocks are like heads of animals, as is also the case in the hunting picture of c. 1460, in which the rocks have human beings', animals' and birds' heads, and the bands of clouds are shaped like dragons.⁷ These animal hybridisms of Tartar origin disappeared

⁴ *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Bibliothèque d'art, Paris, 1904; O. Münsterberg, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1924, vol. I, figs. 163-167.

⁵ F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, pls. 27-32;

E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1922, pls. 23-27.

⁶ Ph. W. Schultz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, pls. 20-29.

⁷ F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, pls. 60-61.

by degrees towards the end of the fifteenth century, when Behzād assumed the leadership, and the pure classical style of Persian illumination reached its maturity. Yet the rocks in Persia never got rid of their demonic life entirely, nor did they ever become cubically neutral. Even though their animal and human faces were taken away from them in the sixteenth century, they continue to bend and twist regularly *en masse*, and so take a personal part in the emphasized points of the plot.

The *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, mentioned above, originated in Western Turkestan, and as E. Kühnel remarks, the miniatures were probably done by one of the Uighurian painters who came to Western Asia in the train of the Mongolian princes. So they were painted by a Turk, not by a Persian, and are only connected with Persia by the text which is written in that language. This explains their relationship with our pictures, which are probably also done by Turko-Mongolian painters. In *Shāh Nāme* Demotte the horizon at the upper edge of some of the leaves is finished off with curved bands of clouds, just as in our picture (*Fig. 1*).⁸ This is the Turko-Mongolian tendency to stylization. The Chinese painting taken over from the Mongols became modified in the Turko-Mongolian sense, in the manner described above. The reason for this modification lies in the fact that the Mongols were nomads and had practised their own folk-art till the thirteenth century, when they were led by Čingiz Khān to the conquest of the Asiatic world. Their folk-art, like every other, was cubistic and surface-filling. It made use of curves and spirals for dynamic expression, and of animals for symbolism, as is seen in the art of the Amur tribes, and a quantity of these stylistic manners took a footing in the figure painting of the Buddhistic and Taoistic Mongolian monasteries, as our pictures prove.⁹

Also in their colouring they are entirely different from the Chinese works of the academic schools and of individual painters. In contrast to the latter they are full of colour and make it the most important factor. As a substitute for coloured plates, which are unfortunately still rare, we must fall back upon a description of the colours. We begin with the audience of a Mongolian ruler (*Fig. 5*). The figures are characterized as Mongolians by their faces, beards, hats and clothes. The clouds framing the blue sky change from yellow to pink and brown, for the latter the colour of the paper alone is made use of. The emperor wears a red cloak, his two attendants are dressed in green and blue. The chair of the ruler is covered with a giant brown skin. The blue of the right attendant is repeated, as is easy to see from the reproduction, on the outmost half figure to the right, then on the protagonist in the centre, and finally on the central figure lowest down. Red appears again on the second half figure to the right, and below on the figure standing between the two blue men, finally on the halberdier on the left below. Green is used for the left attendant, for the border of the umbrellas, there changing with blue, for the fourth figure counting down from the upper halberdier on the right, and for the corner figure below on the right. Finally the empty ground of the lower half of the picture is green. The light figure in the vertical chain of

⁸ E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 36.

⁹ The Carolingian miniature painting gives a Euro-

pean parallelism of such a hybridism due to similar conditions.

figures is dressed in pink, which also appears on the tunic of the right attendant. The two halberdiers have golden helmets and coats of mail, and the knobs of their halberds are gilt. Finally, the figure standing below to the right at the edge of the picture is garbed in a neutral looking gray violet. Thus the blue passes through the picture from bottom to top like a ribbon and other colours are placed in a similar way. By this ornamental arrangement the colours primarily act as plane creators, though a certain regard is taken of their natural local function. In reality the colour scheme of the emperor and his subjects at an audience would have been a quite different one according to the old traditional colour symbolism. In our case, however, this actual scheme was suppressed for the sake of the ornamental space aspect of the picture, as is demanded by the ornamental cubistic style to which this group of pictures belongs.¹⁰ An according ornamental plane creating colour scheme is observed on all the other pictures. The cloud foil of the Taoist sorcerers and saints (*Figs. 1, 3, and 4*) is partly bright yellow, partly pink violet. The yellow of the framing cloud (*Fig. 4*) is continued in the stripes of lining of the garment, by means of which an ornamental unifying of natural phenomenon and human figure is attained. The clothing of the figures always seems to be red, yet with variations. The sorcerer in beggar's garb in *Fig. 1* has a red coloured gourd and his companion's garment is red. The Saint (*Fig. 3*) has a light blue cloak over his red dress and a yellow apron of skin which hangs from the waist in back, the other (*Fig. 4*) wears a red mantle yellow lined, white trousers and a green apron at the back. The landscape background appears in various shades of green framed by the natural brown colour of the paper in the upper parts. The appropriate diversity is brought into the colouring by means of changing opaque colour and water colours. Further use has been made of the light brownish colour of the paper, mostly for the clouds. Thus the Saint with the crane in a red mantle with light violet lapels and a white scalloped hem (*Fig. 2*) stands directly on the earth-coloured paper-ground, which is only slightly lightened with white. The edges of the paper-ground, which form the clouds, are always brought into relief by means of opaque white.

Thus a circle of six colours, consisting of the four main colours, yellow, blue, red and green, as well as of two mixed colours, a light violet and an orange toned to yellow gray, is employed here exclusively. The well balanced quantitative distribution of these colours produces that impression of totality, which agreeably surprises anyone looking at these pictures. Any comparison with Persian miniatures gives evidence that there is no possibility of the Sino-Mongolian painting having any colour influence on the Persian art of illumination. Its influence was restricted to design. For the occasionally close relationship in design, however, a comparison of the Mongolian audience scene (*Fig. 5*) with a Persian illustration of the "Adventures of Humāyūn" in the British Museum is convincing.¹¹ The figural scheme in both pictures is arranged in an elliptic shape, the human attendants in the one and the trees

¹⁰ This categorisation of the Sino-Mongolian style which we are treating here is adopted from the general categorisation of the style in the Fine Arts as it is given by L. Coellen, *Der Stil in der bildenden Kunst*, Arkaden-

verlag, Traisa-Darmstadt, 1921.

¹¹ E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, fig. 35; F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, pls. 45 ff.

in the other. The upper part of the first is emphasized by the throne, in the second by some giant trees. In both cases the elliptic chain of figures includes a green plane, which in the Persian picture is the stage for the combat. This picture proves the direct adoption of a Sino-Mongolian type of composition in Persian miniature painting which can be traced in many illuminations and later also was employed in Indian Moghul painting, until this eastern scheme of ornamental composition was suppressed by the centralistic symmetric western one.¹²

The question remains as to the destination of our pictures, which must have been determined in addition by their shape. There can hardly be any doubt that the pictures with the single saints originally formed long vertical strips, which were cut into pieces. The arrangement of the Arhats and other saints as well as of their legends in vertically arranged scenes connected by strips of clouds, which measured five to seven yards and over and were put on the temple walls, was very much in use in temple painting. Strips of this kind of a more recent period than our pictures and an accordingly more gay and less harmonious colour scheme appear now and then in Peiping. As we know from the finds in Tun-huang and in the Tarim Basin the telling of legends in vertical strips was evidently just as much employed as in horizontal ones since the beginning of Buddhistic painting in China. The arrangement of demons and saints in vertical strips as Parivara of a Buddhist deity in the centre are to be seen in the temples of the northern Tarim Basin as for instance in temple no. 9 in Bâzâklik, now in Berlin.¹³ This vertical arrangement is found too in the Prânidhi scenes, though in more crowded succession. A. Grünwedel found the story of a saint in already dilapidated vertical strips in the Kinnari cave near Kumtura.¹⁴ Here as well as on silk pictures in Tun-huang the separate scenes are still divided by vertical strips. These were, however, not found on the vertical frames of the mandarins and thus the way was cleared for the further development of these vertical compositions, which led to the free connections by means of strips of clouds. Thus the raising of the horizon could be explained simply by the demand for a continuing background for the setting of the figures in a vertical succession. This explanation, however, would not be satisfactory and is refuted by the fact that also single framed pictures, as for instance Fig. 5, are composed in the same way. The real reason for this vertical composition roots in the style to which these pictures belong.

We are facing an ornamental style, that is a style which extends in the plane only and not in the third dimension. Its single objects furthermore, are pictorially unified in a mechanic, not in an organic way. This scheme is determined by the according style-totality. For this latter the third dimension, e.g. the setting of layers towards the depth, does not come into consideration though the general space is recognized as it is for instance in Western Romanesque art.¹⁵ The vertical pictorial plane is a space-plane with a certain relief-like

¹² E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, figs. 43, 45, 47, 48, 53, 105, 107, 110.

¹³ A. von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Berlin, 1913, pl. 32. The upward continuation has unfortunately been destroyed, yet seems to be indicated by the wave shaped band of

flame winding upwards.

¹⁴ A. Grünwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Berlin, 1912, p. 18.

¹⁵ L. Coellen, *op. cit.*, pp. 281 ff.

depth, within which the single space bodies move and partly even overlap each other. The ornamental general form, however, is no longer composed of conventional ornamental single objects, as we find it in the Turfan paintings and in the stylistically equivalent Byzantine painting, but as in the Western Romanesque style, of individualised single figures. Yet the style in our pictures rises beyond the static Romanesque to the level of the dynamic Gothic. In contrast to the complete static compositions of the Ming Öi landscapes,¹⁶ these pictures show a dynamic formation, a contrast corresponding to different conceptions of the world. It was the complete balance of Buddhistic equanimity which in the Hyppocamp cave at Ming Öi organized all the monks, demons, animals, springs and trees into a complete mechanic static order and thus represented the totality of the Buddhistic conception of the world as well as of the esoteric Tao. The world of our Mongolian pictures, however, is different. These sorcerers and saints belong to active Taoism, which aims at an intercourse with the everlasting divine "Reason" by means of active magic and sorcery. They strive to participate in divine power by means of magic, as in the Gothic period it was attempted by way of mysticism. Hence in both styles the pictorial expression is dynamic.

As was discussed by L. Coellen in his analysis of style, the most satisfactory attempt at a metaphysical categorisation of the Fine Arts since Alois Riegl, the relation of our existence to its "infinite reason" was always reflected by the corresponding world conceptions. These latter found their condensation in the general philosophy of the period and particularly in that ethical part of philosophy, which we call religion. Therefore it is primarily the artistic visualisation of religion, e.g. religious art, which enables us to analyse style as a true reflection of the corresponding world conception. When art takes to profane subjects the style developed in religious themes is adopted, as the audience scene shows (*Fig. 5*). And when such a developed style is adopted by another social or national group it appears as a manner, because it lacks the root of the mother style. Possibly the dynamic style of book illuminations in Persia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be thus explained.¹⁷

The relation of our Mongolian paintings to the cave paintings of the Tarim Basin has already been indicated. Though no examples seem to be left it can be taken for granted that the tradition of Buddhistic painting in Central Asia, though carried to other places, was never discontinued. To corroborate the conjecture that the Mongolian paintings in discussion are late descendants of this old Central Asiatic religious art, some similarities may be pointed out, as for instance the conformity of painted borders. The border-scroll of our audience scene (*Fig. 5*) is like the fragment of a border in Ming Öi and in other caves.¹⁸ Moreover a general likeness between both groups is established by the conformity of the colour scheme. A comparison with the colour plates of the Turfan paintings in the volumes published by

¹⁶ A. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, figs. 112 ff and 238.

¹⁷ A very good example of this style is Rustam's sleep in the *Shāh Nāme* from 868/1463, E. Kühnel, *op.*

cit., fig. 42.

¹⁸ A. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, figs. 93, 174c, 118a, 623.

A. von Le Coq prove the relationship.¹⁹ In both groups of paintings we find the same almost exclusive predilection for a light bluish green as the colour for the ground and the same shades of pink and red, light and dark blue, dark green and yellow occur here and there.

Summarizing the results of this investigation we once more want to point to the fact that we are facing Mongolian, not Chinese paintings, that these pictures belong to a popular style of painting which probably could be traced through Mongolia and that this style appears as an advanced form of Mediaeval Buddhistic painting as it is preserved in the caves of the Northern Tarim Basin and Tun-huang. As to Mongolian miniature painting in Persia, these first examples ever known and published of autochthonic Mongolian painting are opening new perspectives for the discussion of the technique and style of Persian book illumination in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and of its origin.

¹⁹ *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, Berlin, 1922-1925, 5 vols.



FIG. 5—AUDIENCE SCENE, MONGOLIAN, BRYN MAWR, E. DIEZ COLLECTION



FIG. 1—AL-KHIZR, MUGHAL, LUCKNOW XVIII CENTURY
BOSTON, A. K. COOMARASWAMY COLLECTION

KHWĀJĀ KHADIR AND THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE, IN THE TRADITION OF PERSIAN AND MUGHAL ART BY A. K. COOMARASWAMY

IN INDIA, THE PROPHET, SAINT, OR DEITY KNOWN AS KHWĀJĀ KHIZR (KHADIR), PĪR BADAR, or Rājā Kidār, is the object of a still surviving popular cult, common to Muslims and Hindus. His principal shrine is on the Indus near Bakhar, where he is worshipped by devotees of both persuasions; the cult is however hardly less widely diffused in Bihar and Bengal. In the Hindu cult, the Khwājā is worshipped with lights and by feeding Brahmans at a well, and alike in Hindu and Muslim practice, by setting afloat in a pond or river a little boat which bears a lighted lamp. Iconographically, as in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 1) Khwājā Khizr is represented as an aged man, having the aspect of a *fakīr*, clothed entirely in green,¹ and moving in the waters with a “fish” as his vehicle.

The nature of Khwājā Khizr can be inferred from his iconography as outlined above, and also from the Indian legends. In the ballad of Niwal Daī, which is localized at Safīdam² in the Pañjāb, Niwal Daī is the daughter of Vāsuki, the chief of the Serpents. The Aryan Pāṇḍava Rājā Parikṣit has encountered Vāsuki, and forced him to promise his daughter to him in marriage, though from Vāsuki’s point of view this is a disgraceful misalliance. Vāsuki is then stricken with leprosy, owing to a curse pronounced by the Priest Sījī³ whose cows have been bitten by the Serpents. Niwal Daī undertakes to obtain for his healing the Water of Life (*amṛta*), from the closed well which she alone can open, but which is in the domains of Rājā Parikṣit.⁴ When she reaches the well, which is covered over by heavy stones, she moves these by her magic power, but the waters sink down out of reach; this is because Khwājā Khizr, their master, will not release them until Niwal Daī, whom none but her own parents Vāsuki and his queen Padmā have ever yet seen, permits herself to be seen; when Niwal Daī showed herself, then Khwājā Khizr “sent the waters up bubbling.” Rājā Parikṣit,

¹ In accordance with the meaning of al-Khaḍīr, the “Green Man.”

² Safīdam, probably a corruption of *sarpa-damana*, “Quelling of the Serpent.” For the legend of Niwal Daī see Temple, *Legends of the Panjab*, I, 414–418, and 419.

³ Usually Sañjā (perhaps for Skr. Sañjñā). This priest (Brahman) who serves Vāsuki, but acts against him, suggests Viśvarūpa who in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, II, 5, 1 is called the Purohita of the Angels, and Uśanas Kāvya who in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 5, 20 is the Purohita of the Titans, but is won over to the side of the Angels.

⁴ A location of the Well in the domains of the human Parikṣit is hardly “correct,” (it is really on the borders of both worlds, in a forest equally accessible to Vāsuki and Parikṣit), but it will be observed that the

waters are not merely protected by the heavy stone covering, but also subject to Khizr’s will, they are not “flowing.” Vedic equivalents for the “heavy stone” which hinders access to the waters are abundant, e.g. IV, 28, 5 *apihitāni aśnā*, VI, 17, 5 *adrim acyutam*, IV, 16, 8 *apaḥ adrim*, IV, 1, 15 *dṛdhram ubdham adrim*, IV, 18, 6 *paridhim adrim*, and when the stony obstacle is broken, then “the waters flow from the pregnant rock,” *srñvantv apaḥ . . . babṛhānasya adreḥ*, V, 41, 12; cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, 1, 2, 4 in connection with the baptism of the fire-altar, which begins “from the rock,” because it is from the rock that the waters come forth, *aśmano hy apaḥ prabhavanti*. Vāsuki in the ballad corresponds to Ahi, smitten by Indra, but “still waxing in sunless gloom,” *R̥g Veda*, V, 32, 6.

aroused by the sound, gallops to the well, and though Niwal Daī hides in her serpent form, forces her to put on her human aspect, and after a long argument at the well, convinces her that she is bound by the previous betrothal, and in due course marries her.⁵

The scene at the well may also have been the original theme of the composition represented in a number of seventeenth and eighteenth century Mughal paintings, where a prince on horseback is shown at a well, from which a lady has drawn up water.⁶ The motif of a dynasty originating in the marriage of a human King with a Nāginī is widely diffused in India, and in the last analysis can always be referred back to the rape of Vāc, the Apsaras or Virgin of the Waters whose origin is with the powers of darkness and whom the Father-Creator has not "seen" before the transformation of darkness into light, *in principio*; in this connection it is noteworthy that in the ballad, Niwal Daī has never seen the Sun or Moon, and has been kept hidden in a whirlpool (*bhauīrī*) until she comes forth to uncover the Well at the World's End, in which are the Waters of Life.⁷ That she assumes a human form is her "manifestation." It will be realized of course, that just as in the European parallels, where a mermaid, or the daughter of a magician, marries a human hero, so in the later Indian folk tales and romances the redactor may not have always fully "understood his material."

Khawājā Khizr appears again in another Indian folk tale of a very archaic type, the Story of Prince Maḥbūb.⁸ The king of Persia has a son by a concubine, who, in the absence of any other child, becomes the heir apparent. Subsequently the true queen becomes pregnant. The first prince fears that he will be displaced, invades the kingdom, slays his father, and usurps the throne. In the meantime the true queen escapes, and is cared for by a farmer; a son is born, who is called Maḥbūb, and the "Darling of the World." Later he goes alone to court, and becomes the victor in athletic contests, particularly as an archer. The people recognize his likeness to the late king. On his return home his mother tells him of his birth, and both set out on their travels in order to avoid the usurper's suspicion. Mother and son reach a desert land, and there in a mosque beside a mountain they meet a *faqīr* who gives them bread and water that are inexhaustible, and two pieces of wood, one of which can serve as a torch, the other possessing this virtue, that within a radius of fourteen cubits from the

⁵ In the theme condensed above it is easy to recognize the Vedic creation-myth of the conflict between Angels and Titans (Devas and Asuras), Indra and Ahi-Vṛtra; the abduction of Niwal Daī is the rape of Vāc, (*Ṛg Veda*, I, 130, where Indra *vacām muṣāyati*) Khawājā Khizr, the master of the waters, the Vedic rivers of life, is Varuṇa.

⁶ E. G. Blochet, *Peintures hindoues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1926, Pls. V and XXIII.

⁷ The world under water, the home of the serpent race (*ahi*, *nāga*), Varuṇa's "watery origin" (*yonim apyam*, *Ṛg Veda*, II, 38, 8), "in the western gloom" (*apācine tamasi*, *ib.* VI, 6, 4), is not lighted by the Sun,

it is "beyond the Falcon" (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 268), but the shining of the Waters is everlasting (*ahar-ahar yāti aktur apām*, *Ṛg Veda*, II, 30, 1).

⁸ Shaikh Chilli, *Folk tales of Hindustan*, Allahābād, 1913, pp. 130 ff., with a modern picture of Khawājā Khizr as an old man blessing Maḥbūb, Pl. XXXIII. The story of Prince Maḥbūb is essentially the relation of an achievement of the Grail Quest by a solar hero, the son of a widowed mother, and brought up in seclusion and innocence of his true character, as in the Perceval cycle. Maḥbūb corresponds to Vedic Agni and Sūrya; Kassāb to Indra.

place where it is held, the deepest sea will become fordable, and no more than a cubit in depth. As mother and son are then wading through the sea knee-deep, they meet with a ruby-bearing current. They cross the sea and reach India, where they sell one of the rubies at a great price. It comes into the hands of the king of that country. He finds out its source, and seeks the hero, who has in the meantime built a new and great palace by the seaside. Maḥbūb undertakes to procure more of the same kind. He sets out alone, lights the torch (this shows that he is about to enter a world of darkness), and aided by the rod traverses the sea till he reaches the ruby current. He follows it up until he finds its source in a whirlpool. He jumps in and falls down the black watery chimney until he touches solid ground and finds the waters flowing out from an iron gateway of a conduit. Passing through this he finds himself in a wonderful garden, in which is a palace. In this palace he finds a room in which is a freshly severed head, from which drops of blood are falling into a basin, and are carried out as rubies with the current into the conduit and so to the whirlpool and up into the sea. Twelve *perīs*⁹ then appear, take down the head, bring forth the trunk, lay the parts together, and taking up burning candles execute a dance round the couch, so swift that Maḥbūb can see only a circle of light. Then stooping over the bed, they wail "How long, O Lord, how long? . . . When will the sun of hope arise on the darkness of our despair? Arise, O King, arise; how long will you remain in this deathlike trance?"^{9a}

Then from the floor of the palace there rises up the form of the *faḳīr* previously mentioned, but now clad in garments of light. The *perīs* bow down to him, and ask "Khwājā Khizr, has the hour come?" The *faḳīr*, who is indeed none but the immortal Khwājā Khizr, explains to Maḥbūb that the corpse is his father's, who had been murdered by the usurper Ḳassāb; Maḥbūb's ancestors have all been *magi*,¹⁰ all have been buried in the under-water palace, but Maḥbūb's father has remained unburied, for none had performed his funeral rites; Maḥbūb, as son, should now do this. Maḥbūb accordingly makes prayer to Allāh on behalf of his father's soul. Immediately the head is joined to the body, and the dead king rises up alive.¹¹ Khizr vanishes, and Maḥbūb returns to India with his father, who is thus reunited with the widowed queen. When the king of India comes for the rubies, Maḥbūb pricks his own finger, and the drops of blood falling into a cup of water become the required gems, for as Maḥbūb now knows, every drop of blood that flows in the veins of the kings of Persia is more precious than rubies. Maḥbūb marries the princess of India. An expedition to Persia dethrones the usurper Ḳassāb, and his head is taken and hung in the underground palace, but every drop of blood becomes a toad.

The true nature of Khwājā Khizr is already clearly indicated in the two stories summarized above, as well as in the iconography. Khizr is at home in both worlds, the dark and the light, but above all master of the flowing River of Life in the Land of Darkness: he is at

⁹ Apsarases; Grail maidens.

^{9a} The "wailing women" and "deathlike trance" of the Fisher King are essential features of the Grail myth.

¹⁰ Equivalent to Skr. *māyin*, "magician," a designa-

tion especially applicable to the Titans, and secondarily to the premier Angels, particularly Agni. The "ancestors" represent the solar heroes of former cycles.

¹¹ The Grail Quest is achieved.

once the guardian and genius of vegetation and of the Water of Life, and corresponds to Soma and Gandharva in Vedic mythology, and in many respects to Varuṇa himself, though it is evident that he cannot, either from the Islamic or from the later Hindu point of view be openly identified with the supreme deity. We shall find these general conclusions amply confirmed by further examination of the sources of the Islamic legends of al-Khaḍir.

In the *Qur'ān* (Sūra XVIII, 59–81) occurs the legend of Mūsā's search for the Maḍjma' al-Baḥrain,¹² which is probably to be understood as a "place" in the far west at the meeting of two oceans; Mūsā is guided by a "servant of God," whom the commentators identify with al-Khaḍir, whose abode is said to be upon an island or on a green carpet in the midst of the sea. This story can be traced back to three older sources, the Gilgamesh epic, the Alexander Romances, and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi.¹³ In the Gilgamesh epic the hero sets out in search of his immortal "ancestor" Utnapishtim who dwells at the mouth of the rivers (*ina pi narati*), like Varuṇa whose abode is "at the rivers' source," *sindhūnām upodaye*, *Ṛg Veda* VIII, 41, 2; his object being to be informed with respect to the "life-plant," prototype of the Avestan *haoma*, Vedic *soma*,¹⁴ whereby man can be saved from death. In the Alexander Romances Alexander sets out in search of the Fountain of Life, which is accidentally found, and significantly "in the land of darkness," but cannot be found again. A recension of this legend occurs in the *Shāh Nāme*, where Alexander sets out in search of the Fountain of Life, which lies in the Land of Darkness beyond the place of the setting of the Sun in the western waters; Alexander is guided by Khizr, but when they come to a parting of the ways, each follows a different path, and Khizr alone accomplishes the quest. Those of Alexander's followers who bring back with them stones from the Land of Darkness find on their return that these are precious stones.¹⁵ The story is retold at greater length in Niẓāmī's *Iskender Nāme*, LXVIII–LXIX; here Alexander learns from an ancient man (probably Khizr himself in human form) that "of every land, the Dark Land is best, in which is a Water, a life-giver" and that the source of this River of Life is in the North, beneath the Pole Star.^{15a} On the way to the Dark Land, in every arid land the rain falls and grass springs up, "Thou wouldst have said: 'The trace of Khizr was on that road; that

¹² Baḥrain, an island in the Persian Gulf, has been identified by many scholars with the Sumerian Dilmun, where dwelt the gardener Tagtug after the flood: see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 178, and Langdon, *Sumerian Epic*, pp. 8 ff.

¹³ For Islamic legend, other parallels, and further references see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s. v. Idrīs, al-Khaḍir and Khwādjā Khidr; Warner, *Shah Nama of Firdausi*, VI, 74–78 and 159–162; Hopkins, "The Fountain of Youth," *JAOS*. XXVI; Barnett, "Yama, Gandharva, and Glaucus," *Bull. Sch. Or. Studies*, IV; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, pp. 40–43; Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur des Particularités de la Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde*, pp. 85–89; Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebens-*

baum und Lebenswasser, Leipzig, 1905; Friedländer, *Die Chahhirlegende und der Alexander-Roman*, Leipzig, 1913.

¹⁴ Cf. Barnett, *loc. cit.*, pp. 708–710.

¹⁵ Cf. *Ṛg Veda*, VII, 6, 4 and 7, where Agni is said to bring forth the Maidens (rivers of life) eastward from the "western darkness" (*apācine tamasi*) and to bring back "treasures of earth" (*budhnyā vasūni*) "when the Sun rises (*uditā sūryasya*).

^{15a} Al-Khaḍir's realm, known as Yūḥ (also a name of the Sun), where he rules over saints and angels, is situated in the far North; it is an Earthly Paradise, a part of the human world which remained unaffected by the Fall of Adam and the curse (see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 82, 124).

verily, Khizr himself was with the king.' " ¹⁶ They reach the northern limit of the world, the sun ceases to rise, and the Land of Darkness lies before them. Alexander makes the prophet Khizr his guide, and Khizr "moving with greenness" ¹⁷ leads the way, and presently discovers the fountain, from which he drinks, becoming immortal. He keeps his eye on the spring, while waiting for Alexander to catch up with him; but it disappears from sight, and Khizr himself vanishes, realizing that Alexander will not succeed in his quest. Nizāmī goes on to relate another version according to the "account of the elders of Rūm"; here the quest is undertaken by Ilyās¹⁸ and Khizr, who sit down by a fountain to eat their repast, consisting of dried fish; the fish falling into the waters, comes to life, and thus the seekers are made aware that they have found the Fountain of Life, from which both drink. Nizāmī then proceeds to the Qur'ānic version, and interprets the Fountain as one of Grace, the true Water of Life being the Knowledge of God. A similar interpretation of the ancient material occurs in the *New Testament*, (John, Ch. 4). Nizāmī attributes Iskender's failure to his eagerness, whereas in the case of Khizr "the Water of Life arrived unsought," with reference to the fact that it is revealed indirectly by its effect on the fish, when Khizr, has no suspicion that he has already reached it.

The finding of the Fountain by Ilyās and Khizr occurs in Persian art as the subject of miniatures illustrating the *Iskender Nāme*.¹⁹ One of these, from a late sixteenth century manuscript belonging to Mr. A. Sakisian, is reproduced in color as frontispiece to his *La Miniature persane*, 1929, and in monochrome by L. Binyon, *Persian Painting*, 1933, Pl. LXI a; here the two prophets are seated by the Well in a verdant landscape, two fish are seen lying on a platter and a third, evidently alive, is in Khizr's hand; it is clear that he is pointing out to Ilyās the significance of the miracle. Ilyās is robed in blue, Khizr wears a green robe with a brown cloak. In another, and unpublished version of the seventeenth century, belonging to the Freer Gallery and here reproduced in Fig. 2, the arrangement is similar, but only one fish is seen on the platter. A third example, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and of late fifteenth century date, is reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, XIII, Pl. VII, No. 15; Ilyās and al-Khaḍīr are seen in the foreground beside the stream, in darkness; Alexander and his followers above, as in the Freer Gallery example, where the arrangement of the darks and lights is reversed. The Freer Gallery example seems to be the more correct in this respect, inasmuch as the whole quest takes place within the Land of Darkness, but the immediate vicinity of the Fountain of Life is understood to be lighted up by the sheen of its flowing waters. The Finders of the Well are both nimbate.

In the Syrian *Lay of Alexander*, and in the Qur'ānic version, the fish swims away, and

¹⁶ According to 'Umārah, Khizr is "Green" because the earth becomes green at the touch of his feet.

¹⁷ *Khazra*, either "verdure" or "sky."

¹⁸ The prophet Elias, with whom Khizr is often identified.

¹⁹ Cf. *Iskender Nāme*, LXIX, 57, "verdure grows

more luxuriantly by the fountain." *Ib.* 22, the spring is described as a "fountain of light," and this corresponds to *Vendidād*, Fargad XXI, where light and water proceed from a common source; cf. also Vedic Soma as both light and life, a plant and a fluid (*amṛta*, the Water of Life, cf. Barnett, *loc. cit.*, p. 705, note 1).

Err: read
XVI C
[A.D. 1548]

FGA
37.24

in the latter is said to reach the sea. A connection with the story of Manu and the "fish" may be predicated in the Manu myth (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 8, 1); the "fish" (*jhaṣa*) is from the beginning alive, but very small, and precariously situated, for it comes into Manu's hands when he is washing, and asks him to rear it. Manu provides it with water, and after it has grown great, releases it in the sea; and when the Flood comes, it guides the Ark through the Waters by means of a rope attached to its horn. A noteworthy variant of the Manu legend, with a closer parallel to the Alexander and ẖur'ānic versions with respect to the dessication of the "fish" occurs in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 193, and *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 5, 15; here Śarkara, the "*śiṣumāra*," refuses to praise Indra, Parjanya therefore strands him on dry land and dries him up with the north wind (the cause of the dessication of the fish is thus indicated). Śarkara then finds a song of praise for Indra, Parjanya restores him to the ocean (as does *Khizr*, though unintentionally, in the ẖur'ānic version), and by the same laud Śarkara attains heaven, becoming a constellation. There can be no doubt that the constellation Capricornus, Skr. *makara*, *makaraṣi*, is intended. *Makara*, *jhaṣa*, and *śiṣumāra* are thus synonymous;²⁰ and this Indian Leviathan clearly corresponds to the *kar*-fish, "greatest of the creatures of Ahuramazda," who swims in Vourukasha, guarding the Haoma tree of life in the primordial sea (*Bundahiś*, XVIII; *Yasna*, XLII, 4, etc.); and to the Sumerian goat-fish, the symbol and sometimes the vehicle of Ea (*Fig. 3*), god of the waters (Langdon, *Semitic mythology*, pp. 105–6). That in the late Indian iconography *Khizr*'s vehicle is an unmistakable fish, and not the crocodilian *makara*, need not surprise us, for other instances of the alternative use of *makara* and "fish" could be cited from Indian iconographic sources; in some early representations, for example, the river-goddess Gaṅgā is shown supported by a *makara*, but in the later paintings by a fish.

In the Pseudo-Callisthenes (C) version of the Alexander legend, Alexander is accompanied by his cook, Andreas. After a long journey in the Land of Darkness, they come to a place gushing with waters, and sit down to eat; Andreas wets the dried fish, and seeing that it comes to life, drinks of the water, but does not inform Alexander. Subsequently Andreas seduces Alexander's daughter Kale, and gives her a drink of the Water of Life (of which he had brought away a portion); she having thus become an immortal goddess is called Nereis, and the cook is flung into the sea, becoming a god; both are thus denizens of the other world. There can be no doubt that Andreas here is the Idrīs of *ẖur'ān*, Sūra XIX, 57 ff. and Sūra XXI, 85, whom Muḥammadan tradition identifies with Enoch, Ilyās, and al-*Khadr*. From the account of Idrīs in Ibn al-ẖiftī's *Tārikh al-Ḥukamā* (ca. 1200) it appears that he plays the part of a solar hero, and is immortal.

²⁰ In *Bhagavad Gītā*, X, 31, Kṛṣṇa is *jhaṣānām makaraḥ*, the *makara* is therefore regarded as the foremost amongst the *jhaṣas*, or monsters of the deep. The word *makara* occurs first in *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, XXIV, 35; *śiṣumāra* in *Ṛg Veda*, I, 116, 18. For a full discussion of the *makara* in Indian iconography (especially

as vehicle of Varuṇa and banner of Kāmadeva) see my *Yakṣas*, II, 47 ff. and further references there cited. The "fish" vehicle, of course, implies the rider's independence of local motion in the unbounded ocean of universal possibility; just as wings denote angelic independence of local motion in the actual worlds.

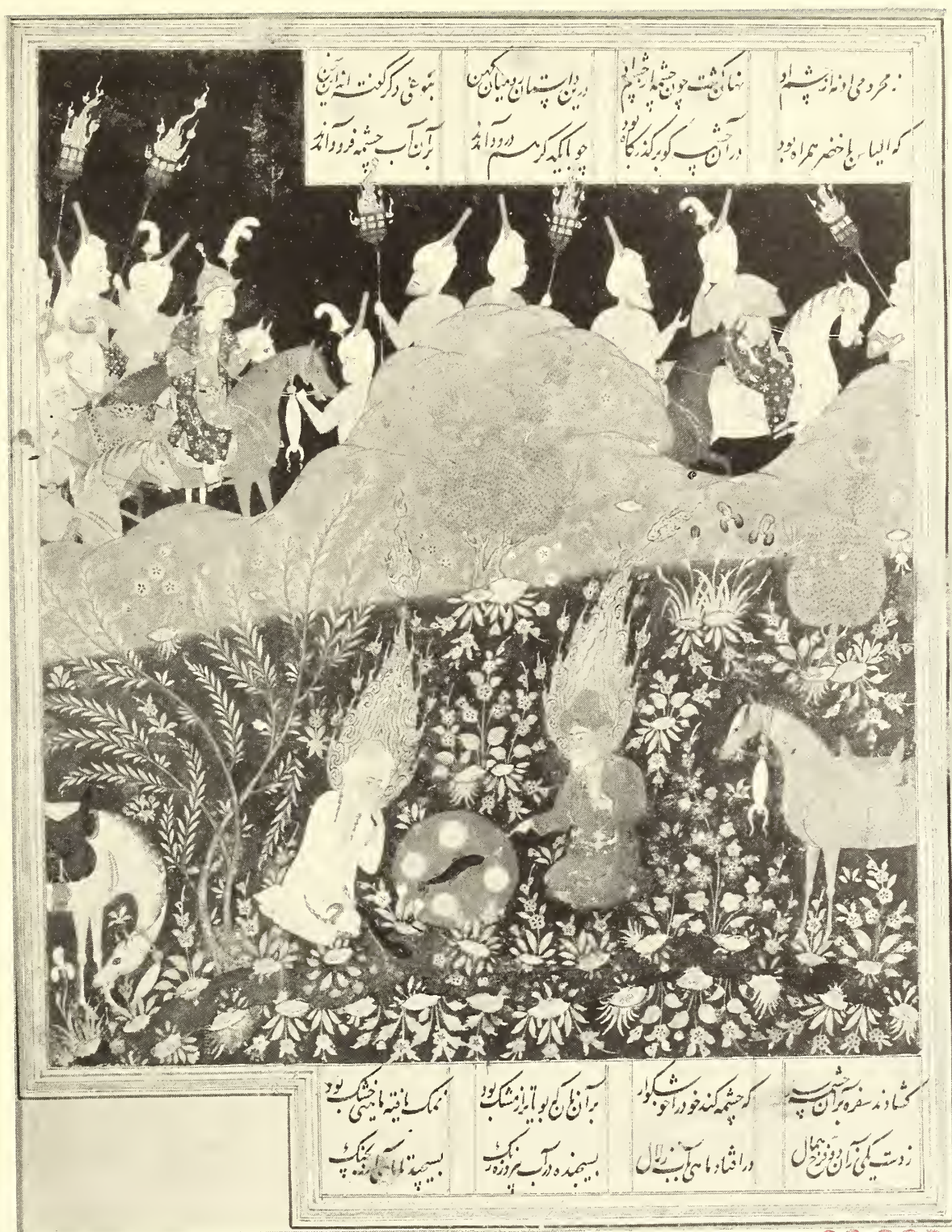


FIG. 2—ILYĀS AND AL-KHĀDIR AT THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE, *Nizāmī*, PERSIAN XVI CENTURY
WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY



FIG. 3—MARDUK AND MUŠHUŠŠŪ, CYLINDER
SEAL FROM BABYLON, IX CENTURY B.C.
(FROM S. H. LANGDON, *Semitic Mythology*)

Al-Khaḍir also presents some point of resemblance with Saint George, and it is in this connection and as patron of travellers that we meet with a figure which is probably that of al-Khaḍir in carved relief over the gateway of a caravanserai on the road between Sinjār and Mosul, of the XIIIth century; the figure is nimbate, and is thrusting a lance into the mouth of a scaly dragon.²¹

The figure of a man seated on a fish occurs apparently as a Hindu work built into the bastion of the fort at Raichur, in the Deccan; it is stated to have a "crown of river serpent-hoods," and has therefore been called a "nāga king," but these hoods are not clearly recognizable in the published reproduction.²² Mediaeval Indian art affords numerous examples of Varuṇa seated on a *makara*.²³

A brief reference may be made to European parallels similarly derivative in the last analysis from Sumerian sources. Khaḍir corresponds to the Greek sea-god Glaukos (Friedländer, *loc. cit.* pp. 108 ff., 242, 253, etc., Barnett, *loc. cit.* p. 715). Khaḍir belongs to the Wandering Jew type. Parallels between Glaukos and Vedic Gandharva are noteworthy; the Avestan designation of Gandarva as *zairipāšna* "green-heeled" tends to a connection of Gandharva with Khaḍir. Gandharva, as suggested by Dr. Barnett may correspond to Kandarpa, *i.e.* Kāmadeva, and in this connection it may be observed that the erotic motif common to Glaukos and Gandharva-Kāmadeva appears in connection with Khizr in the Niwal Daī ballad, where Khizr will not release the waters unless he has sight of Niwal Daī; as might be looked for if we think of him as the Gandharva, and of her as the *apsaras* or Maiden (*yoṣā*) of the Waters, or equally if we correlate Khizr with Varuṇa, cf. *Ṛg Veda* VII, 33, 10-11 where Mitra-Varuṇa are seduced by the sight of Urvaśī, as is emphasized in the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, I, 166 *urvaśim āpsarasam dr̥ṣṭvā . . . reto apatat*, and Sāyaṇa, *retaś cakanda* evidently following *Nirukta*, V, 13. The same situation is implied in *Ṛg Veda* VII, 87, 6 with respect to Varuṇa alone who descends as a white drop (*drapsa*) and is called a "traverser of space" (*rajasah vimānaḥ*) and "ruler of the deep" (*gambhīra-śaṁsaḥ*), epithets that might well be applied to Khizr. It remains to be observed that in Christian iconography the figure of the river-god Jordan,²⁴ commonly found in representations of the Baptism of Jesus, bears a certain likeness to the conception of Glaukos and Khizr. In some cases the Baptism was thought of as taking place at the junction of two rivers, Jor and Danus. Sometimes there is found a masculine river-god, and a feminine figure representing the sea; both riding on dolphins, like the numerous types of Indian dwarf Yakṣas riding on *makaras*. All these types in the last analysis may be referred back to prototypes of which our earliest knowledge is Sumerian, in the concept of Ea, son and image of Enki, whose essential name Enki means "Lord of the Watery Deep." Ea was the ruler of the streams that rose in the

²¹ Sarre und Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Vol. I, pp. 13, and 37-38, Berlin, 1911.

²² *Annual Report, Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions*, 1929-30 (1933), p. 17 and Pl. 11, b.

²³ See my *Yakṣas*, II.

²⁴ For example, in the Baptistery at Ravenna (Berchem and Clouzot, figs. lii and 220); Jordan here holds a vase from which the waters are flowing.

Underworld, and flowed thence to fertilize the land; precious stones are likewise his. In iconography, Ea has the goat-fish, and holds in his hands the flowing-vase, the source of the "bread and water of immortal life." Ea has seven sons, of whom Marduk inherits his wisdom and slew the dragon Tiamat. Another son was Dumuzi-abzu, the "Faithful Son of the Fresh Waters," the Shepherd, the Semitic form of whose name is Tammuz, well known as the "Dying God" of vegetation; comparable in many respects with Soma, and as "Lord of the Realm of the Dead" with Yama. The further Sumerian parallels are too many and too close to admit of adequate discussion here.²⁵ It suffices to have demonstrated the wide diffusion and ancient origin of the figure of Khwājā Khizr as it occurs in Persian and Indian iconography. In connection with Mughal art may be cited the remark of H. Goetz, who in discussing the sources of Mughal art speaks of a "teils absolute Identität teils engste Verwandschaft mit solchen der grossen altorientalischen Kulturen, und zwar zu gut Teilen schon der klassischen sumerischen Zeit."²⁶ That the figure of Khizr comes into independent prominence precisely in Mughal art of the eighteenth century—all the Indian examples that I have seen are in the "Lucknow style"—when considered in connection with the adoption of the fish as royal emblem by the rulers of Oudh, seems to show that some revival of the cult took place at this time and in this area.

²⁵ For the Sumerian deities see S. H. Langdon, *Semitic mythology*, Ch. II; for the flowing vase, etc., Van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, Berlin, 1933, and as regards India, my *Yakṣas*, II. For the iconographic link between the Asiatic full vase and

Christian Grail vessel see Gosse, *Recherches sur quelques représentations du Vase Eucharistique*, Geneva, 1894.

²⁶ *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul-Zeit*, 1930, p. 71.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON SOME PERSIAN ILLUSTRATED MSS. IN THE TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ — PART I BY MEHMET AGA-OGU

IN A PAPER READ AT THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY HELD IN TORONTO in 1930,¹ the writer discussed briefly some illustrated manuscripts in the library of the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi at Istanbul, and expressed the opinion that a systematic and thorough investigation of this book collection, the richest in the Near East, promises to extend the research in the field of Islamic pictorial art.² With the present notes he has the opportunity, due to the courtesy of Mr. Tahsin Shükri Bey, Director of the Museum, to publish for the first time the miniatures of some manuscripts, which, because of their particular importance for the stylistic study of book painting in Persia, deserve special attention. The following notes are, however, of a preliminary nature, and the writer hopes to devote in the future a detailed essay to these and other hitherto unpublished book illustrations from the collections in Istanbul.

1. *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh* by Rashīd al-Dīn (Inv. Nos. 1863 and 2475). This manuscript of great importance is mentioned in literature several times but its miniatures remain unpublished.³ It consists of two bulky volumes measuring 36 by 26 cm. According to the colophon, they were copied in the year 717 A.H. (1318 A.D.), thus very probably under the personal supervision of the author, who established in Tabriz an Academy of Science and Literature with a special department provided for the copying of his own literary output.⁴ The numerous illustrations of both volumes are the works of different periods and ateliers. A few of them, which interest us here primarily, were painted unquestionably in the first half of the XIVth century, while the remaining ones belong to a later date, examples of which will be published in the promised essay. Most probably the tragic execution of the author by Il-Khān Abū Sa'id in 1318 A.D., which corresponds to the year of the completion of the volumes, prevented their entire pictorial adornment. In the XVth century the manuscript passed, as to be seen from additional *ex-libris*, into the possession of the Shāh Rokh's library in Herāt.

The miniatures of the earlier period are, in their technique, colouring and composition, almost identical to the illustrations of two famous portions of the same historical work by Rashīd al-Dīn, copied in the years 707/714 A.H. (1306/1314 A.D.), and now belonging to the Edinburgh University Library and to the Royal Asiatic Society in London. Fig. 1 shows one of the three miniatures reproduced here. It represents the audience of the Ghaznavid

¹ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 50, No. 4, 1930, p. 336; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, No. 4, 1931, pp. 330 ff.

² An important manuscript from this collection was published recently by Ivan Stchoukine in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1934, pp. 134 ff. It is an illustrated Al-Djazarī manuscript from the year 602 A.H. (1206 A.D.).

³ A. Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane du XII^e au XVII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1929, p. 30; L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, pp. 34-35.

⁴ T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, p. 74.

Sultān *Djalāl al-Dawla Muḥammed*. The personages wear costumes with heavy folds and hats of mongolian type. The faces have dignified features, the gestures of the hands are very expressive, and the actions portray a certain tranquility. As in the similar audience scenes of the portions already mentioned, the general compositional treatment of the picture is extremely simple and distinctive. Characteristic of the entire group, the figures are of the size of the picture itself and have been set on the page surface without indication of a base or a space-background. Two decorative columns and a heavy curtain framing the picture on three sides are the only accessories.

Of the same compositional distinction, but somewhat richer in the ornamental details, is the audience scene of the *Seldjūḳ Sultān Maḥmūd* (Fig. 2). The picture is divided here by single and double columns respectively into four sections, containing the personages.⁵ The Sultān, seated on his state throne, which is elaborately decorated with palmetto scrolls, and attended by two lieutenants, is receiving the nobles of the empire. The same vivacious gestures and sublimity of actions are also characteristic of this picture. It is remarkable how the artist succeeded in the expression of the faces to display the spiritual relation between the omnipotent Sultān and his respectful subjects.

In contrast to these scenes represented in architectural interiors, the miniature reproduced in Fig. 3 shows an event in the open-air. A solid base and a certain spacing depth are realized here by means of the slightly ascending soil and a tree in the background. This, if we may say, "realistic" treatment of the landscape finds its identical parallel in the already mentioned portions of *Djāmi' al-Tawāriḳh*, in which the horses, tree and architecture are of similar stylistic rendering.

These three miniatures alone are convincing enough to determine that the early group of illustrations in the Istanbul manuscript are the works of the same studio in which the miniatures of the Edinburgh and the Royal Asiatic Society manuscripts were produced, although they differ from each other in some stylistic points which can be ascribed to the individual manners of the artists.

Here is not the place to discuss in detail the very interesting problem concerning the origin of these miniatures so markedly differentiated in their stylistic formulation from the contemporary Persian works. Certainly they exhibit 'the influence of persisting Sung painting,'⁶ but how this Far Eastern style was transmitted into the Tabrīz atelier is a question awaiting its final solution. E. Kühnel is perfectly right in attributing them to the Turkish, i.e. Uighurian painters, who came to Persia with the Mongols and who were familiar not only with the traditions of their home country, Eastern-Turkeṣtān, but also with the methods of Chinese painting.⁷ There are enough historical and stylistic evidences to prove this very

⁵ Cf. the miniature of the R.A.S. Manuscript, reproduced in E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, London, 1929, pl. L.

⁶ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁷ *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1922,

p. 24; E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 89, is of the opinion that these miniatures are the imitations of "French paintings of the second half of the thirteenth century illuminating a book sent to the master of Iran" by the Pope or Kings of France and England.



سلطنت پسرین محمد بن محمد بن محمود
بات انت امرا و ارکان دولتش پسرین را محمد کا صو

FIG. 1.—AUDIENCE OF GHAZNEVID SULTÂN DJALÂL AL-DAWLÂ MUHAMMED, *Djâmi' al-Tawârikh*, TABRİZ DATED 1318
ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ



FIG. 2—AUDIENCE OF SELDJŪK SULTĀN MAHMŪD, *Djāmi al-Tawārikh*, TABRĪZ DATED 1318, ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MŪZESI

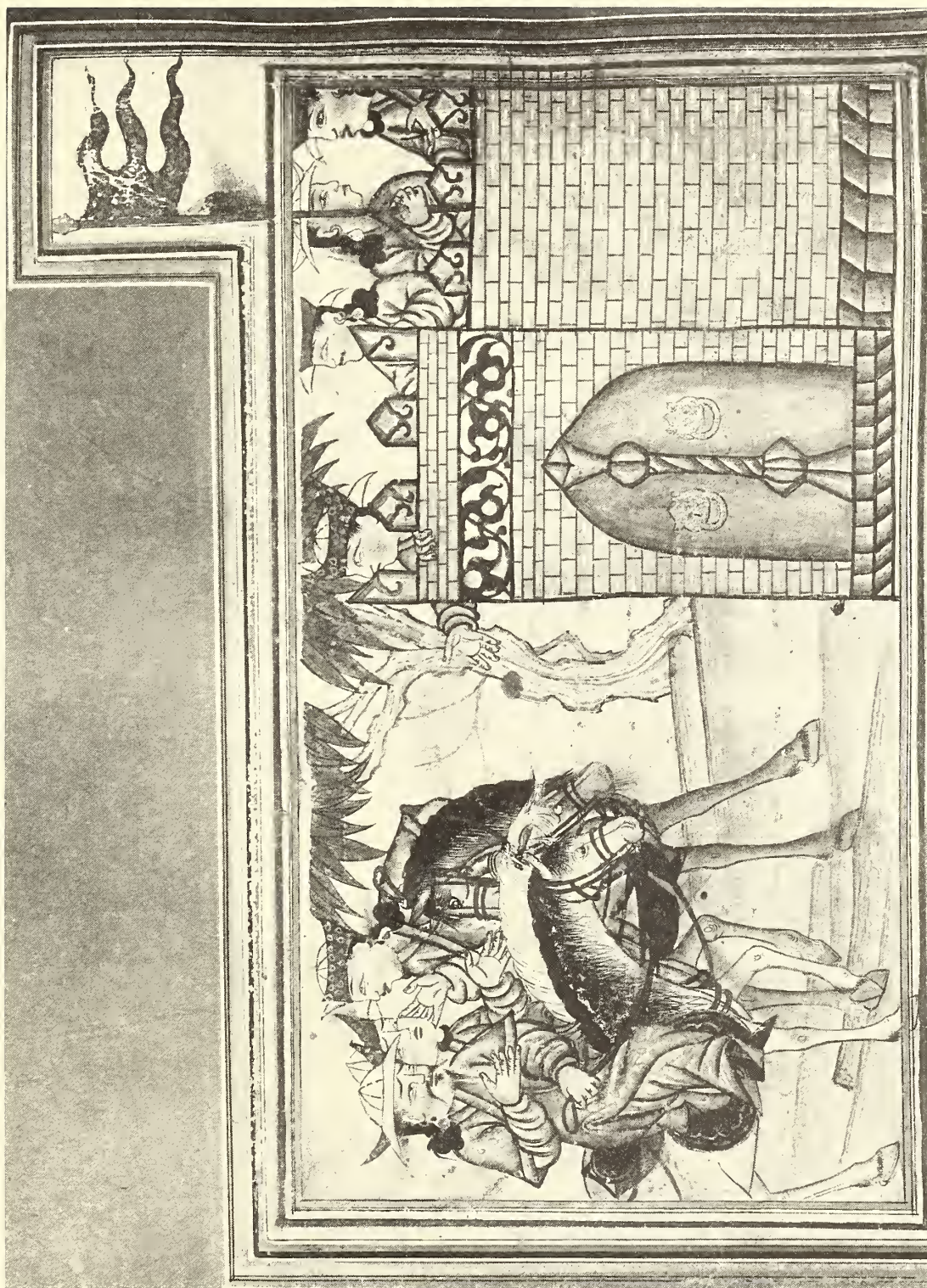


FIG. 3.—HORSEMEN APPROACHING A CASTLE, *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, TABRİZ DATED 1318, ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

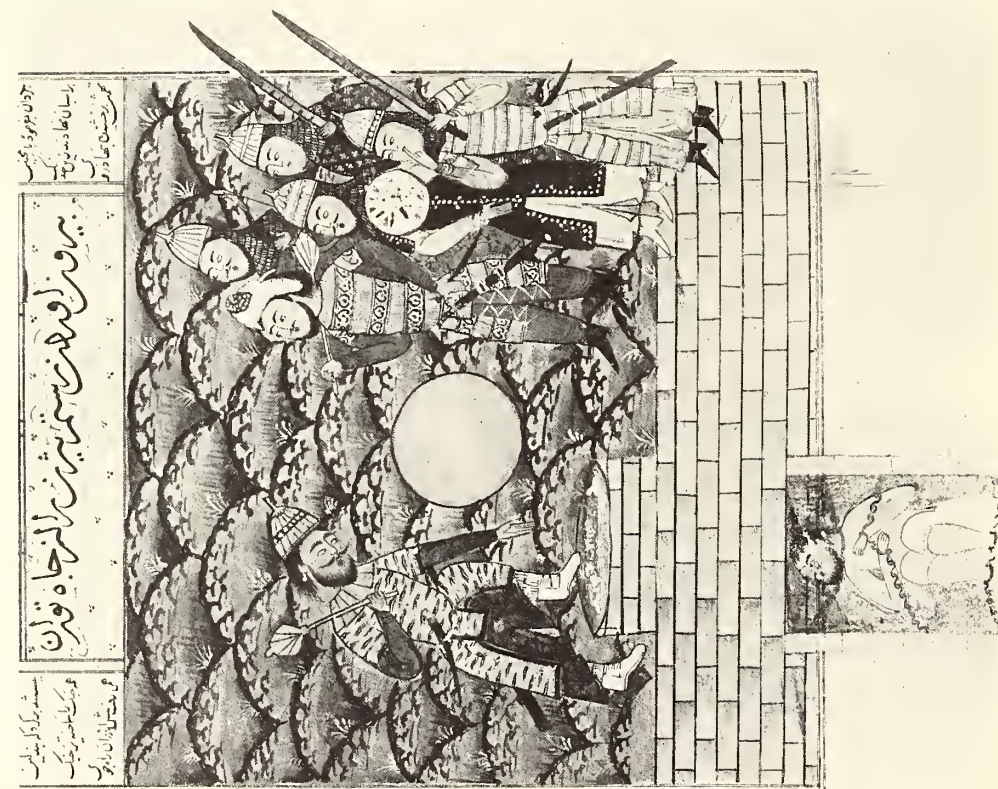




FIG. 6—RUSTAM KILLING SOHRĀB



FIG. 7—BATTLE BETWEEN MANUČEHR AND TŪR



FIG. 8.—PROPHET ADAM AND THE ANGELS, *Kuliyū-i Türkiyye*, XV CENTURY, ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

pertinent suggestion, which unfortunately is not generally considered by the writers on Persian miniature painting.

2. *Shāh Nāme* by Firdawsī (Inv. No. 1423). Of no less importance for the historical study of Persian painting are the miniatures of a *Shāh Nāme* copy, dating from the second half of the XIVth century. The manuscript was executed, as the completely preserved colophon states, in the year 772 A.H. (1370/71 A.D.) in Shīrāz by the calligrapher Mas'ūd ibn Manšūr ibn Aḥmed. The twelve miniatures of various sizes belong unquestionably to the same date and are subsequently to-day the earliest known works of the Shīrāz school.⁸ It is noticeable that there is among the illustrations no single one representing an interior scene, and all of them depict the deeds of epical heroes in the open-air. As a matter of stylistic peculiarity of the Persian painting of the century in question, the landscapes consist of conventionalized hills, scarcely planted with grasses and flower shrubs. Only three pictures have a few additional trees and on one is a castle. Of a particular decorative effect is the representation of nature in two miniatures. The picture of Bīzhān's release from the pit by Rustam (*Fig. 4*) takes place in the foreground of a fantastic landscape, composed of semi-circular hills, disposed symmetrically in alternative order. The vegetation is restricted to few conventionalized grasses attached to the heavy contours of the hills, which are in their turn elaborately filled with smaller, sketchy semi-circles, indicating probably the evolution of nature. Noteworthy is also the rendering of personages, whose plump, oval faces are large in proportion to their slender bodies. This facial type seems to be one of the stylistic peculiarities of the early Shīrāz painting. We find similarly drawn faces, for example, in miniatures of *Shāh Nāme* from the year 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.) in the Bibliothèque Égyptienne⁹ and in the illustrations of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹⁰ which evidently belongs also to the last decade of the XIVth century.

Of quite different artistic comprehension is the compositional form and illustrative performance of the miniature representing Bahrām Gūr killing a dragon (*Fig. 5*). Contrasted to the neutral simplicity of the landscape background, the horseman and the dragon suggest an energetic movement and vigorous action. Besides this dramatic expression there is also a refined decorative feeling so masterfully realized in harmonious lines and delicacy of design.

Again of another character is the miniature in *Fig. 6*. In spite of the tragic occurrence,

⁸ The hitherto published, dated MSS. of the Shīrāz school are: 1—*Shāh Nāme* of the Bibliothèque Égyptienne, 796 A.H.—1393 A.D. (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 51, and 62); 2—Probably the *Shāh Nāme* in the collection of Mr. Ch. Beatty and its part in the British Museum, 800 A.H.—1397 A.D. (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 62 ff.); 3—*Anthology* of the Türk ve Islam Asari Müzesi, 801 A.H.—1399 A.D. (erroneously called *Nizāmī MS.*, A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 33); 4—*Anthology*, formerly in the collection of Mr. Gulbenkian, 813 A.H.—1410 A.D. (A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 40); 5—*Anthology* in the Staat-

lichen Museen, Berlin, 823 A.H.—1420 A.D. (E. Kühnel, "Die Baysonghur-Handschrift des islamischen Kunstabteilung" in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1931, Bd. 52, III, pp. 133 ff.); 6—Probably the *Shāh Nāme* in Oxford, 833 A.H.—1420 A.D. (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 and 67).

⁹ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX.

¹⁰ E. Blochet, *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux*, Paris, 1926, pl. XXIX.

the theme is treated with an extreme calmness, and lack of expressive action. The symmetrical assemblage of the figures in an almost escutcheon-like composition, indicates that the artist was interested primarily not in the delineation of the subject matter, but rather in obtaining a purely decorative effect. Remarkable here are the trees, which in their visible forms and stylistic rendering are identical to those of the landscapes in the *Anthology* manuscript of the year 801 A.H. (1393 A.D.) in the Türk ve Islam Asari Müzesi at Istanbul.¹¹ We observe, further, in some miniatures of the manuscript an entirely different artistic approach to the compositional problem. In a picture representing the battle between Manu-čehr and Tūr (Fig. 7), there is a tendency to depict the event with a certain conciseness. This summary delineation does not reduce, however, the illustrative effect, on the contrary it admits a far enhanced dramatic feeling. This is again an artistic comprehension, apparently characteristic for the *Shīrāz* school, the parallels of which are to be found in the *Bāisonghor Anthology* in Berlin.¹² A detailed analytic study of all twelve miniatures of the manuscript promises to add to the better understanding of the XIVth century style of this south-western Persian school, which besides the contemporary Tabriz school was of a decisive influence upon the formation of the *Tīmūrid* style in Herāt.

3. "*Kulīyāt-i Tārīkhīye*" (Inv. No. 282/33052). The text of the manuscript remains undetermined to the writer. It is called in the museum inventory "*Kulīyāt-i Tārīkhīye*," i.e. *Historical Anthology*. The manuscript is uncompleted and therefore does not have a dated colophon. The evidence for establishing the period in which it was executed is that besides the styles of the miniatures and script there is also a long memorandum on the Folio 10, which states that "it was written in the days of rule of the great Sulṭān . . . *Shāh Rokh Bahādur Khān* . . ." Thus it belongs to the years between 1404 and 1447 A.D. The twenty illustrations adorning the manuscript are of two distinctly different types. In Fig. 8 we reproduce an example of the first group, representing the Prophet Adam with Angels. Characteristic for these are the large figures and exuberantly drawn plant motives. The manner in which the tree and flowering shrubs are painted finds its closest parallel in the miniatures of the *Gulbenkian Anthology*, executed in *Shīrāz* in the year 1410 A.D.¹³ Whether this stylistic relation points to the *Shīrāz* origin of this group of miniatures, must be left undecided at the present time, although the nature of the manuscript can be used as a further evidence for this attribution since the *Shīrāz* studios were particularly specialized in the execution of anthology manuscripts.¹⁴ The miniatures of the second group are of the general Herāt type both in the treatment of scenes, as well as in the rendering of figures and landscape elements (Fig. 9). They were probably added to the uncompleted manuscript sometime later in Herāt.

¹¹ A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII, fig. 40. This manuscript is not a copy of Nizāmī's romances, but an extensive anthology. The writer has prepared a special article about these unique landscape paintings of Persian pictorial art, which will be published in the next issue of *Ars Islamica*.

¹² The miniature reproduced and discussed by E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, figs. 11, 12, and 13.

¹³ A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX; L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI B.

¹⁴ See footnote 8.

حضرته
سام حو
حضرته عیسی

از
ن
آور
خ
و
ی

A black and white illustration depicting a scene from the parable of the blind men and an elephant. In the center, a man lies on the ground, his body being touched by several people. To the left, a man in a dark robe stands and points towards the man on the ground. To the right, a group of people, including a woman in a dark dress, are crouching or kneeling, touching the man on the ground. In the background, a rocky landscape with some trees is visible. The illustration is framed by a simple border.

İSTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

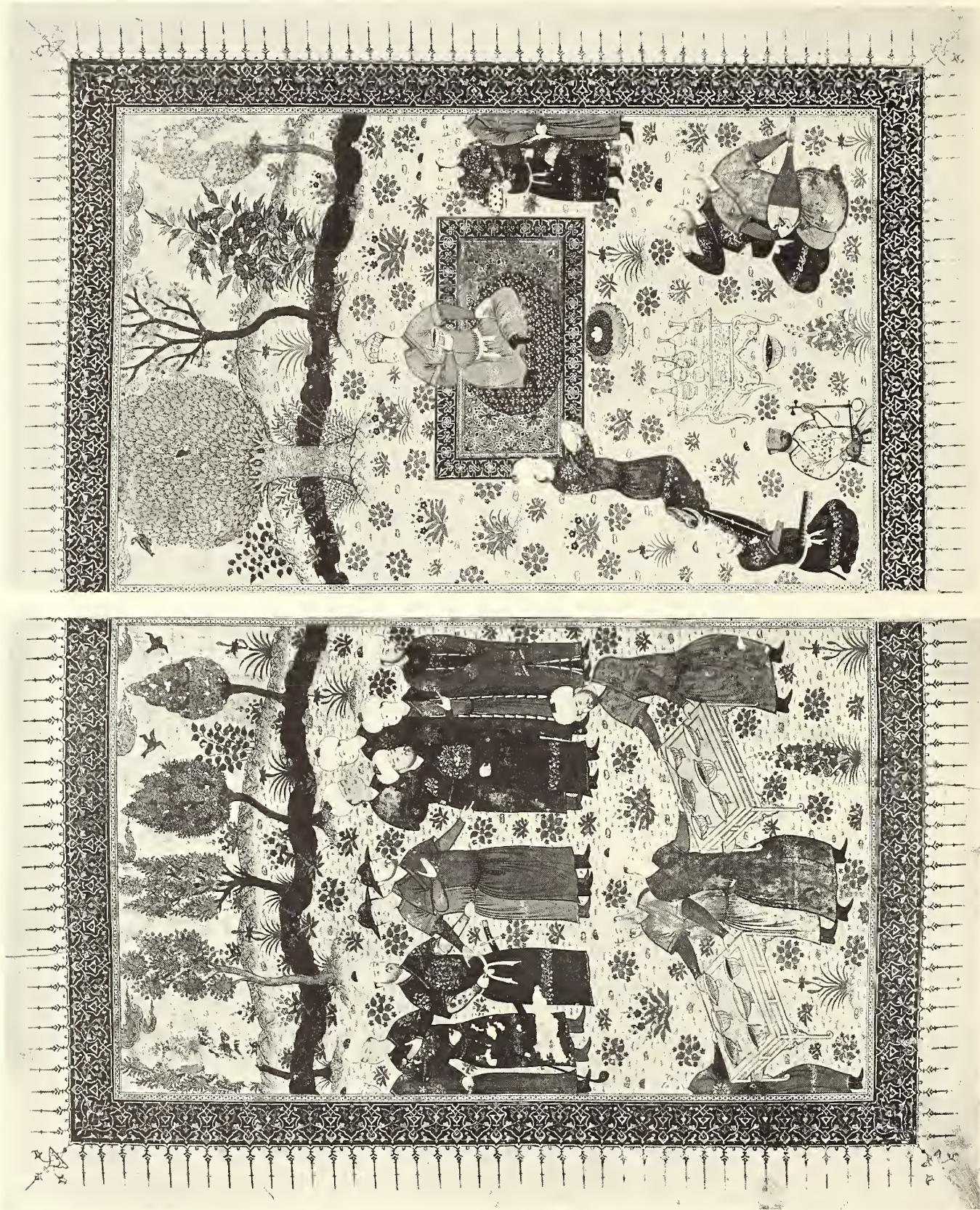


FIG. 10.—PLEASURE-PARTY OF BĀYSONGHOR MĪRZĀ, *Kalīla wa Dinna*, HERĀT DATED 1430, ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

وکت ای برادران ویدان و دوستان حضرت نصان آب در حق من پشراست که معیت
 من پے اب مکن نکرد و کون حکم مروت و قضیت گرم عداپنت که بردن مرا بجای آید
 و جلتی سازید کشت رنج جبران تو بر ما پیش و سرکار ویم اگر چه در خصب و نعمت نایم
 پے دیدار تو از آن تمنع و لذت نایم اما تو اشارت شتقان و قول نایم چنان پسک داری
 و آنچه مصلحت جال و مال تو پیوند بران ثبات نکنی و اگر خواهی که ترا بریم شرط اپنت
 که چون ترا برداشتیم و بر سوار قسم خدایک چشم مردمان بر ما افتد سرخیز که کونید راجل
 بر بندی و البته ب نکشایی کنت فرمان بردارم و آنچه بر شما واجب بود از روی کرم و مرد
 بجای آوردید و من پے پدرم که دم ترخم و دل در سک شکم ایشان جوی پاوردند پسک پست
 میان جوب بگرفت بدندان حکم و بطان مرد و جانب چوب برداشتند و اورا جی بردند



FIG. 11—TORTOISE CARRIED BY GESE, *Kalila wa Dimna*, HERĀT DATED 1430
 ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ



بکر ای نادان دروغامت عاقبت جلت خویش و سست شوی عده و هلاک کا و وسد رخسار او
 پریشانی حاجت لشکر و تفرقه کافه سپاه و ظهور غرور تو در دعوی انک برفق این کار بیدارم
 و بدین های رسانیدی و نادان تر مردمان است که مخدوم را بپای حاجت در کارزار کنند
 و حسد دمنده در حال قدرت و استیلا و قوت از چنگ خون جنب چنگ بغل گرفته اند و از پند
 کردن فتنه و معضله خاطر تخریب و تنجب واجب دیده که وزیر چون پادشاه را بر چنگ تخریب
 نماید در کاری که برفق و ضعیف تدارک پذیرد بر مان حق و عناوت نموده باشد و حجت

FIG. 12—LION KILLING A BULL, *Kalila wa Dimna*, HERĀT DATED 1430
 ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

و فلان جاي تمام فرماند و مشط آمدن من باشند نامن از مکر و حيلت خویش پیرا زرم
 و پيام ملک در باب وی این مثال بداد و بالکد و حشم بدان موضع که معنی کرد انبیه بود
 رفت این شب بومان باز آمدند ز آغاز نافتند و اورا که خدا ن رنج بر خود نهاد
 بود و در کمن غدر شسته تم ندیدند امسته امسته تر خود می محمد و نرم نرم می نالید بوی
 او را و شنود ملک را خبر کرد ملک با بوی جند بر اورفت خون او را بدید فرمود که
 از و پیر سپید که تو گستی ز اعلان کما اند و نام تو حلت او نام خود و از ان پدر گفتم
 و جواب داد که اجماع از من پرسیده می شود خود حال دلیلت بر آنک موضع افسار
 ایشان توانم بود ملک گفت او وزیر ملک ز اغایت و صیاج سر و میتر معلوم باید
 کرد تا این تنور با او که خرفت زاع گفت خودم را از من بد کاسینے اور دوبر
 که که موجب زاع گفت خون این شب شما شپخون کردید ملک ما را بخواند و گفت چه بیند
 درین واقعه که ما را افاد من کشم ما را با لشکر بوم طاقت مقاومت نتواند بود و نوز و رانشان



FIG. 13—OWLS AND CROW, *Kalila wa Dimna*, HERĀT DATED 1430
 ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ



FIG. 14—A THIEF CAPTURED, *Kalīla wa Dimna*, HERĀT DATED 1430
 ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

4. *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Niẓām al-Dīn Abu'l Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh (Inv. No. 1022). This magnificent work of the Tīmūrid period is a contrepiece to the manuscript of the Gulistan Museum in Teheran, which was exhibited in 1931 at the Burlington House in London (Catalogue No. 541, B). The manuscript was executed, according to the *ex-libris*, for the Prince Bāisonghor Mīrzā, and as the colophon states, by Muḥammed ibn Hussām Shams al-Dīn al-Bāisonghorī in the year 833 A.H. (1430 A.D.) in Herāt.

The twenty-five miniatures of the manuscript belong to the best period of the Herāt academy and are in their artistic quality equal to the illustrations of the Teheran copy. The double-page frontispiece (*Fig. 10*) represents in a large composition an outdoor pleasure-party of the royal owner, Bāisonghor Mīrzā, seated on a carpet with a wine bowl in his hand and attended by dignitaries, musicians and servants. The landscape is similar to that of the hunting scene in the Bāisonghor Mīrzā *Shāh Nāme* in the Gulistan Museum.¹⁵ Of extreme fineness are the illustrations of animal stories (*Figs. 11, 12, and 13*). These pictures are usually larger than the space occupied by the text, and cover a part of the wide margins with a remarkable harmonious relation to the written word. The superb observation of the animal life, the refined decorative treatment of the landscapes, the harmonious scale of colours and above all the dramatic delineation of the fabulous themes display the developed style of the Herāt academy of painting, which attained for the first time its highest phase of accomplishment under the zealous patronage of Bāisonghor Mīrzā.

Fig. 14 shows a frequently illustrated story of a captured thief, which in the composition as well as in the actions of the represented personages is identical to the same scene of the Teheran copy, although the latter shows an abbreviated form of the architectural background. In this connection it ought to be pointed out that the writer does not share the opinion of the authors of the recently published *Persian Miniature Painting* that "the Teheran manuscript is certainly the original of the Sarai manuscript."¹⁶ The close similarity in drawing and colouring, the identity of some scenes, and the common manner in the rendering of landscape elements, dresses and even facial types indicate that both of the manuscripts are contemporary, and that their illustrations are the works of one and the same body of painters active in the Herāt academy. The copy in Teheran was probably executed for Shāh Rokh, although this cannot be definitely proved. At any rate the illustrations of the Saray manuscript are an important addition to the known material of the early Tīmūrid period of Persian miniature painting.

(*To be continued.*)

¹⁵ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIV.

¹⁶ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV B. For this type of interior architecture see also the picture representing the meeting between

Tahminah and Rustam of the *Shāh Nāme* of Muḥammed Djūkī in the Royal Asiatic Society, J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Shāh Nāmah of Firdausī*, London, 1931, pl. V.

¹⁷ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

DIE WAFFENSCHÄTZE IM TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESI ZU ISTANBUL —EIN VORLÄUFIGER BERICHT

VON HANS STÖCKLEIN

WÄHREND DIE KUNSTGESCHICHTE DES ISLAMISCHEN ORIENTS SEIT ETWA 30 JAHREN IN steigendem Masse ihren Platz in der allgemeinen Kunstgeschichte sich erobert hat, ist uns bisher eine Geschichte der Waffen des Islams noch nicht beschert worden. Ausser einigen wenigen in allen Kunstgeschichten immer wiederkehrenden älteren Waffen war nichts bekannt und Literatur über orientalische Waffen gab es überhaupt nicht. Die Muḥammedanische Ausstellung in München 1910 enthielt einen orientalischen Waffensaal, aber die Auswahl der Waffen war ohne System erfolgt und brachte daher wenig Aufklärung. Die Museen sammelten mangels geeigneter Nachschlagewerke ungern orientalische Waffen und Privatsammler betrachteten diese nur als Dekorationsstücke. Wohl gab es in den Museen von Berlin, Wien, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Budapest, Paris, Florenz u.s.w. Waffen, die auf Grund alter Inventare als Schaustücke fürstlicher Kunstkammern oder als Beutestücke aus den Türkenkriegen festgestellt und dadurch vor eine bestimmte Zeit datiert werden konnten. Die Zahl dieser Stücke war aber klein und vor dem XVI Jahrhundert waren fast gar keine Waffen bekannt. Sehr oft hat auch eine überängstliche Scheu viele Orientwaffen viel zu spät datiert. Für frühere Zeiten stand spärliches Material an Abbildungen auf Miniaturen, Bronzeschüsseln etc. zur Verfügung.

Als ich im Jahre 1928 durch den Generaldirektor und Organisator der Türkischen Museen Dr. Halil Ethem Bey aufgefordert wurde, die in verschiedenen Depoträumen des Topkapu Sarayı in Istanbul aufgefundenen Waffenbestände zu sichten und, falls wertvolle Stücke sich dabei befänden, sie aufzustellen und zu veröffentlichen, erwartete ich auch nur späte Prunkstücke zu finden.

Die Öffnung der im jetzigen Waffensaal aufgestellten Kisten, sowie die Durchsuchung der in phantastischen Massen in alten Haremsräumen aufgehäuften Waffenbestände ergab nach gründlicher Reinigung der Stücke eine so fabelhafte Fülle hochinteressanter Waffen, dass für mich jeder Tag einen neuen Entdeckungsrausch brachte. Die Lesung der Inschriften, die in der Hauptsache durch Halil Ethem Bey selbst erfolgte, öffnete immer mehr bisher verschlossene Tore und vom XV Jahrhundert an erweiterte sich der Kreis datierbarer Waffen bis in das VIII Jahrhundert zurück, beinahe bis in die Zeit Muḥammeds des Propheten. Selbstverständlich hat diese überraschende Aufdeckung einer sich über 7 Jahrhunderte erstreckenden Formenwelt auch eine Fülle von Problemen gebracht, deren Lösung nicht immer gelang. Die vorläufig geschaffene Einteilung wird noch manche Verbesserung erfahren müssen, doch kann jetzt gesagt werden, dass unsere Kenntniss der Entwicklung des orientalischen Ornaments durch die Waffen des Sarayı in ungeahnter Weise bereichert wird. Die Waffensammlung, zu der noch die bisher im Činili-Köşk und ein Teil der in der Schatzkammer aufbewahrten Waffen überführt wurden, ist in dem neben dem Dīvāngebäude befindlichen grossen Achtkuppelsaale des ersten Sarayhofes aufgestellt worden und seit Oktober



FIG. 1—ANSICHT DES GROSSEN WAFFENSAALES



FIG. 2—RIESENBÖGEN UND RIESENSTREITKOLBEN

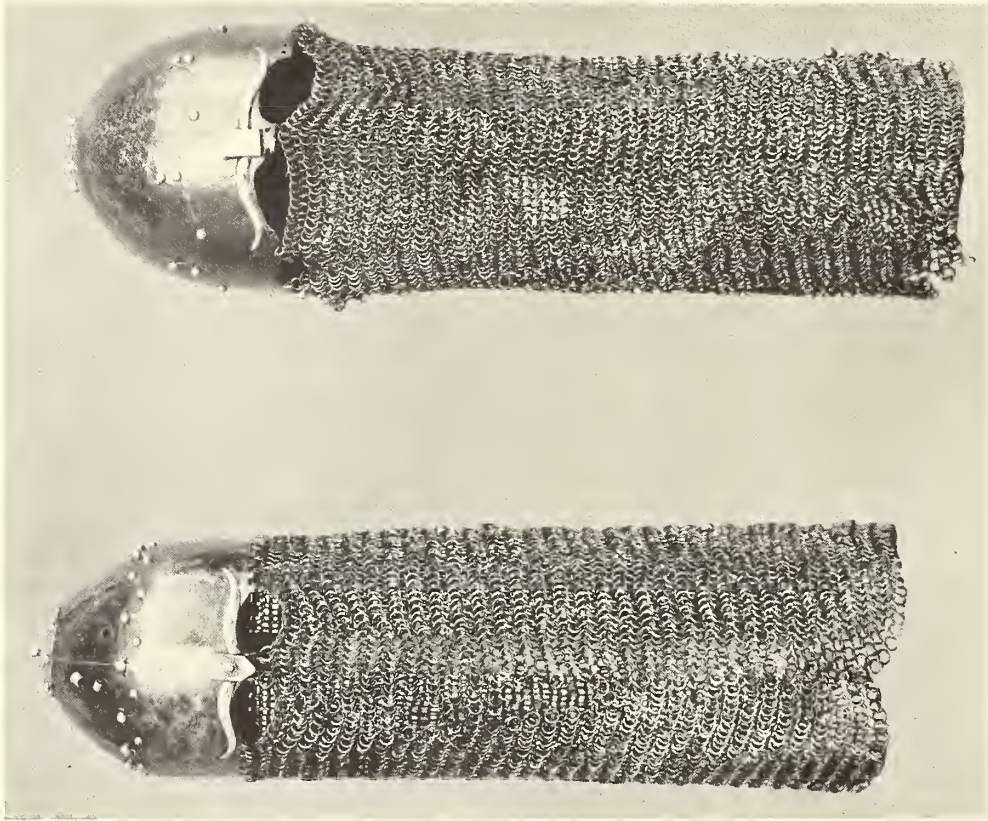


FIG. 3—TÜRKISCHE HELME, XIII-XIV JAHRH.

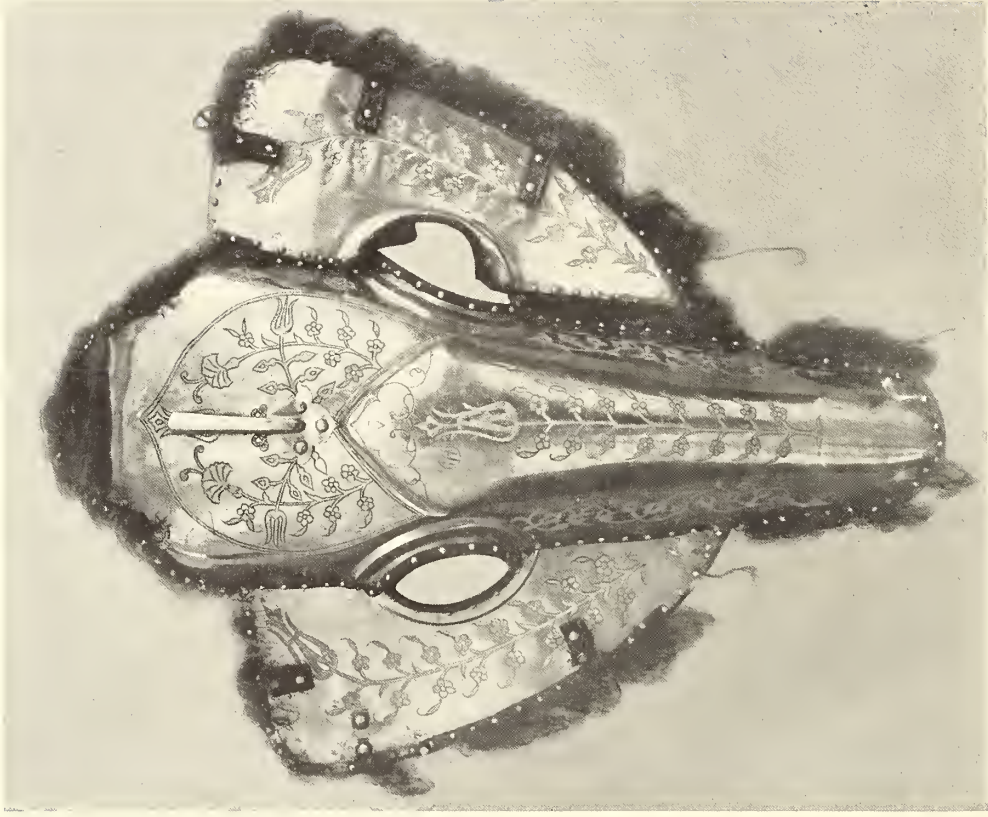


FIG. 4—ROSSTIRN, TÜRKEL XVI JAHRH.

1929 für den allgemeinen Besuch geöffnet. Ueber 1000 weniger wichtige Stücke wurden in das Depot verbracht. Es ist jetzt die einzige Stelle, an der man die Waffenentwicklung des islamischen Orients studieren kann.¹ Zusammen mit den Schatzkammern, mit der von Professor E. Zimmermann aufgestellten chinesischen Porzellansammlung und mit den fortschreitend wieder hergestellten Räumen des Harems ist, dank der grosszügigen Leitung Halil Ethem Bey's, eines der interessantesten Schlossmuseen entstanden, das allein eine Reise nach Istanbul lohnt.

Da die Bearbeitung des riesigen Materials noch lange nicht abgeschlossen ist, kann hier an der Hand einiger Abbildungen nur ein kurzer Überblick gewährt werden.

Fig. 1 zeigt eine Ansicht des grossen Waffensaaes. Von der linken Seite beginnend sind am Pfeiler mamlükische Rosstirnen und Streitäxte des XV Jahrhunderts angebracht. Die Kästen enthalten oben Harnische und Panzerhemden mamlükischer und persischer Herkunft, unten Streitäxte und Kolben aller islamischen Länder. Auf dem Kasten türkische Trabanten-Doppeläxte des XVII Jahrhunderts. In dem rechts sichtbaren Schranke befinden sich arabische und ägyptische Schwerter vom VIII Jahrhundert beginnend, darüber und auf dem Schranke mamlükische Helme des XV Jahrhunderts. Die Waffenbestände sind meist nach Ländern geordnet, also türkische, persische, mamlükische, krimtatarische und europäische Waffen; die Bogen und Gewehre, meist türkisch, sind in einer geschlossenen Gruppe.

Auf Fig. 2 hängen zwei Riesenbögen, die angeblich nur von sagenhaften Athleten gespannt werden konnten, sowie Riesenstreitkolben, wahrscheinlich die gleichen, welche der Reisende J. B. Tavernier 1675 im Saray gesehen hat und von denen er berichtet, dass die Athleten des Saray's, die Heizer der Sultansbäder, damit Kraftübungen machten und vom Sultan mit Geldgeschenken, manchmal auch mit hohen Würden belohnt wurden.²

Die Bestände an türkischen Waffen gaben verhältnismässig geringen Aufschluss. Da die Türken ziemlich spät sesshaft wurden, sind geordnete Zeughäuser erst nach der Eroberung Konstantinopels nachweisbar. In der Form schliessen sich die türkischen Waffen im allgemeinen persischen, bzw. centralasiatischen Vorbildern an und erst im XV Jahrhundert entwickelt sich ein Stil, der als rein türkisch angesprochen werden kann. Die Helme zeigen die für den ganzen Islam gültige konische Form und sind oft nur in der Ornamentik von persischen oder arabischen Helmen zu unterscheiden. Diese hohe konische Helmform ist uraltes orientalisches Erbgut, aus der Zeit der Assyrer, Altperser, Meder, Sarmaten etc. und gehört zu den Kostümbestandteilen, die den Krieger grösser und damit mehr furchterweckend erscheinen lassen. Senkrecht aufsteigende Schmuckfedern verstärken diesen Eindruck.

Zahlreich sind im Saray konische Helme des XV Jahrhunderts in der turbanartigen Form, wie wir sie aus dem bekannten Helm der Sammlung Dr. Fr. Sarre kennen, der in jeder

¹ In der *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, N.F. IV, S. 23, wird die Bearbeitung der Sammlung Moser des Historischen Museums in Bern als künftiges Lehrbuch der orientalischen Waffenkunde bezeichnet. Da diese Sammlung fast nur Stücke vom XVII bis XIX

Jahrhundert enthält, hat sie jetzt nur noch sehr beschränkte Bedeutung.

² J. B. Tavernier, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Intérieur du Sérail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris, 1675, p. 117.

islamischen Kunstgeschichte abgebildet ist. Die türkischen Helme und Rüstungen dieser Zeit sind mit Inschriften und Ornamenten reich in Silber tauschiert. Erst im XVI Jahrhundert ist überwiegend Goldtauschierung angewandt, denn mit der Vergrößerung des türkischen Reiches und mit dem Anwachsen seines Reichtums werden auch die türkischen Waffen immer reicher und üppiger geschmückt.

Zwei türkische Helme des XIII oder XIV Jahrhunderts (*Fig. 3*) mit langem Panzerbehang kommen auf persischen Miniaturen des XIV Jahrhunderts vor, wo man auch sieht, wie der lange Panzer sich in einem dicken Wulst auf die Schultern und um den Hals legt. Die schon in den Fresken von Turfan³ vorkommende Form des Spangenhelms ist altes seldjüisches Erbgut. Die auf der Abbildung hell erscheinenden Augenbogen und Knöpfe sind aus Silber, die Scheitelpplatten sind ebenfalls aus Silber und eine dieser Platten ist mit Schriftzeichen bedeckt, deren Entzifferung bis jetzt leider noch nicht gelungen ist.

Wenn man die Literatur über islamische Kunst durcharbeitet, kommt man leider zur Feststellung, dass die gleichen datierbaren Stücke immer wiederkehren und dass uns im allgemeinen ein recht geringer Bestand zeitlich gesicherter mittelalterlicher Kunstwerke erhalten ist. So wird man verstehen, dass die im Saray auftauchende Masse alter Waffen zunächst nicht immer ihre endgültige Bestimmung finden konnte und ich werde mich noch vielfach verbessern müssen. Da in Persien, woran ich bei diesen beiden Helmen zuerst dachte, fast nur Goldschmuck und Goldtauschierung Anwendung fand, und ich bei Harnischen, Helmen, Armschienen u.s.w. türkischen Ursprungs meist Silbertauschierung feststellte, musste ich zur Zuschreibung dieser Helme auf die Türkei kommen. Vielleicht bringt aber einmal die Lösung der rätselhaften Inschrift auch Anhaltspunkte für die Herkunft.

Kupferne Helme, Schilde und Rosstirnen (*Fig. 4*) mit starker Feuervergoldung und Einfügung von Edelsteinen und Halbedelsteinen sind im XVI Jahrhundert bereits ganz allgemein üblich. Die abgebildete Rosstirne ist mit der bekannten Rüstammermarke des Arsenal der Irenenkirche gezeichnet, die sich auf den meisten Helmen und Rüstungen des XIV bis zu Anfang des XVI Jahrhunderts findet und jetzt mit Sicherheit als Marke Sultan Selīm I bestimmt werden kann. Am Anfang des XIX Jahrhunderts wurde ein Teil der Seitengebäude der Irenenkirche (des Arsenal) zur staatlichen Münze umgebaut. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurden die, in diesem Gebäude untergebrachten Waffen teilweise verschleudert. So gelangten Waffen mit dieser Marke in verschiedene europäische Museen und Sammlungen.

Türkische Panzerhemden aus genieteten Eisenringen wurden oft mit Seide oder Samt überzogen. Einige besonders schöne Panzerhemden des XVI Jahrhunderts mit Überzug von roter oder grüner Seide und mit seidenen Borten und Silberknöpfen besetzt (*Fig. 5*), kamen im Saray zum Vorschein.

Die Jahrhunderte währenden Kämpfe mit den Ungarn führten den Zeughäusern natürlich auch viele ungarische Beutewaffen zu. So sind im Saray etwa 20 ungarische

³ A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1925, p. 58, Fig. 65 und

66. Reiter mit Spangenhelmen in der Stadthöhle von Sorčuk, VIII Jahrhundert.



FIG. 5—PANZERHEMD MIT SEIDE ÜBERZOGEN, TÜRKEI XVI JAHRH.

ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

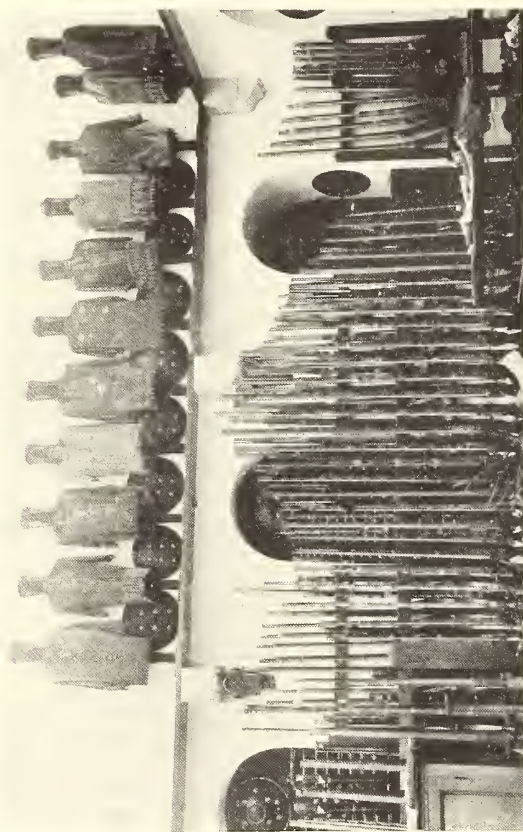


FIG. 6—UNGARISCHE PANZERHEMDEN, XVII JAHRH.

ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ



FIG. 7—GRIFF EINES SÄBELS DES SULTAN BÄYAZİD II
MIT GOLDEINLAGEN, TÜRKİ XV-XVI JAHRH.

Panzerhemden des XVII Jahrhunderts, deren Ringe aus stark legierten Silberringen und Messingringen bestehen (*Fig. 6*). Ausserdem sind diese Hemden mit vergoldeten Silbersternen besetzt und auf der Brust mit stark überladenen vergoldeten Messingketten mit Halbedelsteinen behängt. Leider geben keinerlei Marken oder sonstige Bezeichnungen Aufschluss über Besitzer oder Verfertiger.

Das Saray besitzt nur vier österreichische Fahnen mit dem Monogramm Kaiser Karls VI, alle anderen Fahmentrophäen gingen verloren. Um so zahlreicher sind die erbeuteten Geschützrohre erhalten, unter denen sich viele Rohre mit Wappen venetianischer Familien befinden, deren Verfertiger meist der berühmten Geschützgiesserfamilie Albergeti angehörten. Die Geschütze liegen alle in und vor der Irenenkirche, der seit der Eroberung Konstantinopels als Zeughaus dienenden byzantinischen Basilika. Über diese Geschütze werde ich an anderer Stelle berichten.

Die ungarischen Feldzüge brachten auch viele ungarische Schwerter nach Istanbul, darunter ein riesiges Vortragschwert des XIV Jahrhunderts mit dem Habsburger Wappen und ein einfaches Schwert mit eingelegtem Raben, der einen Ring im Schnabel hält, dem Wappen des Königs Mathias Corvinus (1450–1490). Andere Schwerter tragen den Namen eines Woiwoden Johannes Stephanus und Wappen der Familien Balassa von Gyarmet und Draghffy von Beltek. Die Griffe dieser dem XIV Jahrhundert angehörenden Schwerter sind aus Silber und vergoldet.

Unter den türkischen Schwertern beweisen 3 gerade, zweischneidige Schwerter und 3 leicht gekrümmte Säbel mit dem Namen Sultan Mehmed II, des Eroberers von Konstantinopel (1451–1481), dass in der zweiten Hälfte des XV Jahrhunderts bei den Türken gerade Schwerter und Säbel nebeneinander in Gebrauch waren. Vom Sohne Mehmed II, Sultan Bāyazīd II (1481–1512) ist nur ein gerades Schwert vorhanden, aber dafür 5 Säbel. Von einem dieser Säbel gibt *Fig. 7* den Griff aus Eisen mit Goldtauschierungen in Form zarter Ranken wieder. Der leichte Höcker an der Vorderseite des Handgriffes ist eine schon im XV Jahrhundert vorkommende, den türkischen Säbeln eigentümliche Form. Von Sultan Selīm I ist leider nur ein Säbel vorhanden, dafür aber von Sultan Suleīmān I, dem Prächtigen, an dessen Namen sich die Namen Mohacz (Tod Ludwigs II von Ungarn), Wien (1. Belagerung) und Szigeth (Zrinyi) knüpfen, gleich 14 Säbel. Leider sind bei fast allen diesen 14 Säbel nur die Klingen mit dem Namen des Sultans aus dessen Besitz, die Griffe wurden im XIX Jahrhundert gegen moderne Griffe mit den bekannten knollenartigen Knäufen ausgetauscht.

Die bis weit in das XIX Jahrhundert hinein von den osmanischen Sultanen, wie vom ganzen Volk gepflegte Kunst des Bogenschiessens hat dem Saray etwa 500 Bogen verschafft, von denen die schönsten im Waffenraum jetzt zu sehen sind. Die türkischen Bogen sind meist mit dem Namen und mit dem Datum des Bogenmachers gezeichnet, etwa 20 auch mit dem Namen türkischer Sultane, die Besitzer dieser Bogen waren. Schiessgestelle, Daumenschutzringe und Handschutzplatten wie auch über 1000 Pfeile, Brandpfeile, Übungspfeile und Köcher für Bogen und Pfeile geben ein vollständiges Bild von diesem leider jetzt ganz verschwundenen schönen Sport.

Im Jahre 1514 besiegte Sultan Selīm I den persischen Shāh Ismā'īl in der Schlacht bei Čāldirān und eroberte die damalige persische Hauptstadt Tabrīz. Was an Waffen und sonstigen Schätzen in Tabrīz vorgefunden wurde, liess Sultan Selīm nach Istanbul bringen. Besonders diesem Feldzug verdanken Saray und Irenenkirche ihren Reichtum an altpersischen Waffen.

Auch bei den persischen Waffen beschränkte sich unsere Kenntnis von deren Formen auf Abbildungen auf Miniaturen und erst vom XVI und XVII Jahrhundert an waren Originale nachweisbar. Infolgedessen hat die allgemeine Unkenntnis oft zu weit späteren Datierungen geführt. Die in unglaublichen Massen in Museen und Sammlungen und auf dem Markt vorkommenden persischen Garnituren, bestehend aus Helm mit Spitze, Schild und Armschiene wirkten ebenfalls verwirrend, da sie meist moderne Exportarbeiten sind, und selten bis in das XVII und XVIII Jahrhundert zurückgreifen.⁴

Unter den vielen persischen Harnischteilen sind auch mehrere Bruchstücke von Eisenplatten mit verbindendem Ringpanzer (*Fig. 8*). Alle Teile sind mit schön und sauber gearbeiteten Goldeinlagen verziert. Die Seitenteile sind bedeckt mit zierlichen Blättern und Ranken, das Mittelstück mit kalligraphisch elegant geschriebenen Inschriften koranischen Inhalts. Leider sind von den ursprünglich in Edelmetall und wahrscheinlich auch mit Edelsteinen ausgefüllten Gruben des Mittelteils alle Einlagen entfernt. Die Form dieses Harnisches ist zentralasiatischen, vielleicht mongolischen Ursprungs und verbreitet sich über Persien, die Türkei, Ägypten und auch über das Russische Reich des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts. Das hier abgebildete persische Bruststück, zu dem sich noch einige weitere Teile gefunden haben, gehört dem Beginn des XVI Jahrhunderts an, wofür auch die Riffelung spricht, die merkwürdiger Weise zur gleichen Zeit auch bei europäischen Harnischen auftritt.

Ein einfaches Panzerhemd trägt auf der Brustseite 3 Messingscheiben in der Brustwarzen- und Nabelgegend. Eine dieser Scheiben enthält den Namen des 1581–1629 regierenden persischen Shāhs 'Abbās I des Grossen. Bezüglich der persischen Helme verweise ich auf den in Anmerkung 4 erwähnten *A Survey on Persian Art*.

In der Schatzkammer des Saray's sind in einer Vitrine viele Fahnen spitzen ausgestellt, die teilweise ägyptisch, teilweise persisch sind und als Beutestücke in den Kriegen Sultan Selīms I nach Istanbul gelangten. Die hier abgebildete Fahnen spitze (*Fig. 9*) ist aus Eisen mit reich ornamentierten, durchbrochen gearbeiteten Blättern und in ihrer Form aus persischen Miniaturen des XV Jahrhunderts längst bekannt. Die auch auf diesen Miniaturen gut erkennbaren zwei säbelartigen Seitenspitzen, sind alte mongolische Erinnerungsformen.

Die persischen Schwerter älterer Form sind durchwegs gerade und zweischneidig und erst am Ende des XIV Jahrhunderts beginnt die Säbelform sich auch in Persien durchzusetzen, zuerst schwach gekrümmt und erst um 1600 die starke Kurve erreichend, die dann bis in die Neuzeit beibehalten wird.

⁴ Ein erster Versuch einer durch Raumbeschränkung noch sehr knappen persischen Waffengeschichte ist gegenwärtig im Druck als Abteilung der in der Oxford Press

durch A. U. Pope und E. Kühnel herausgegebenen grossen persischen Kunstgeschichte, *A Survey on Persian Art*.

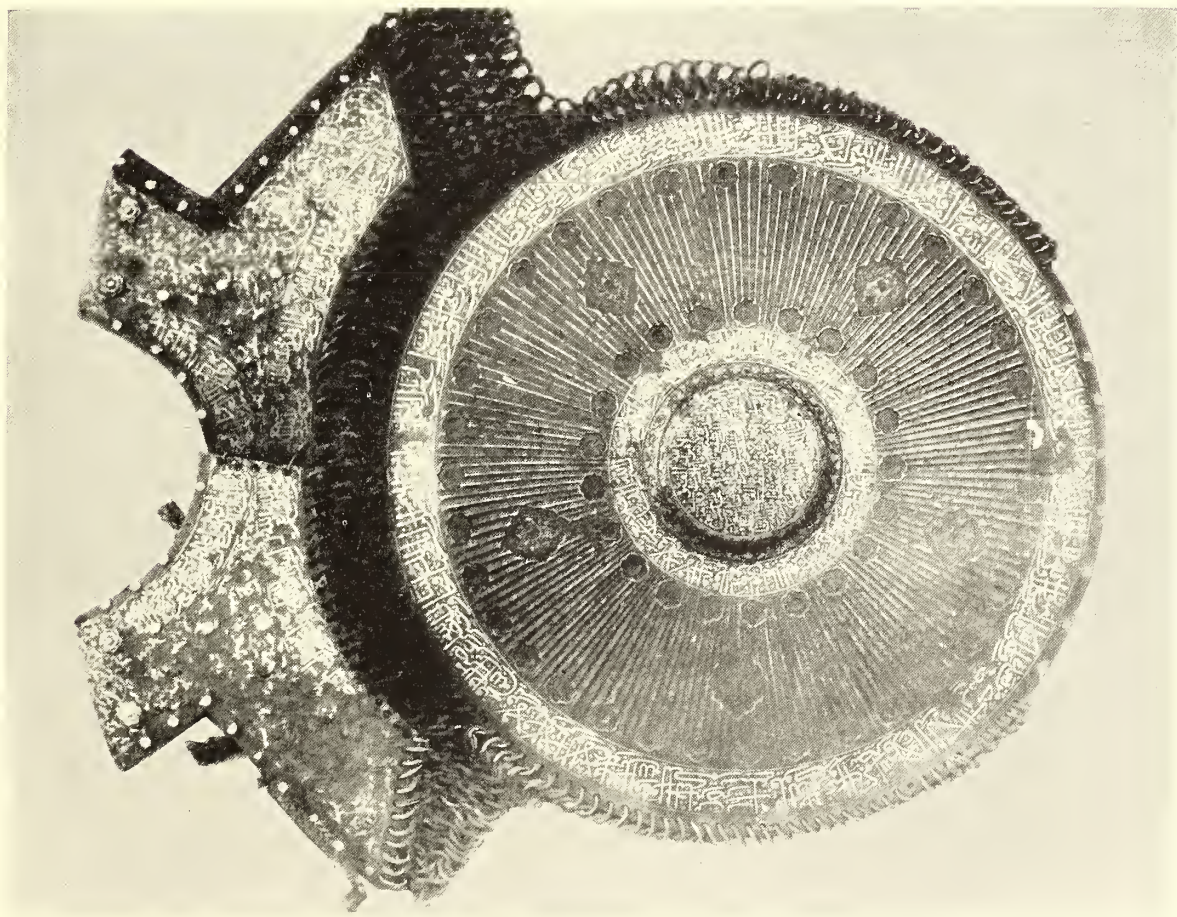


FIG. 8—HARNISCH MIT GOLDEINLAGEN, PERSIEN XVI JAHRH.

ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

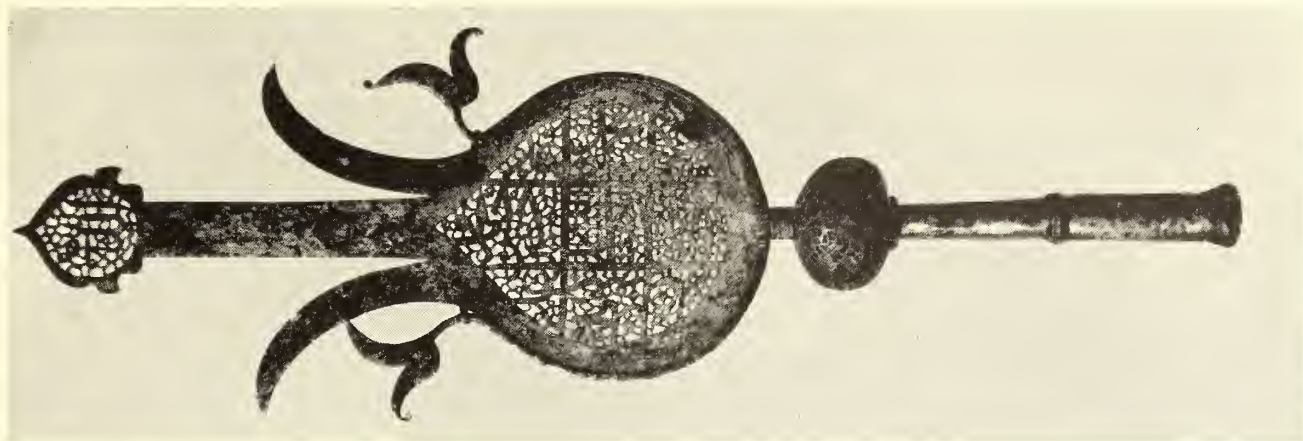


FIG. 9—FAHNENSPIITZE, PERSIEN
XV JAHRH.



FIG. 10—PANZERHEMD DES MAMLÜKENSULTANS KÄITBÄY, ÄGYPTEN XV JAHRH.
ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ



FIG. 11—ARMSCHIENEN DES MAMLÜKENSULTANS KÄNŞÜH AL-GHÜRİ, ÄGYPTEN XVI JAHRH.



FIG. 12—ROSSTIRN, ÄGYPTEN XV JAHRH.

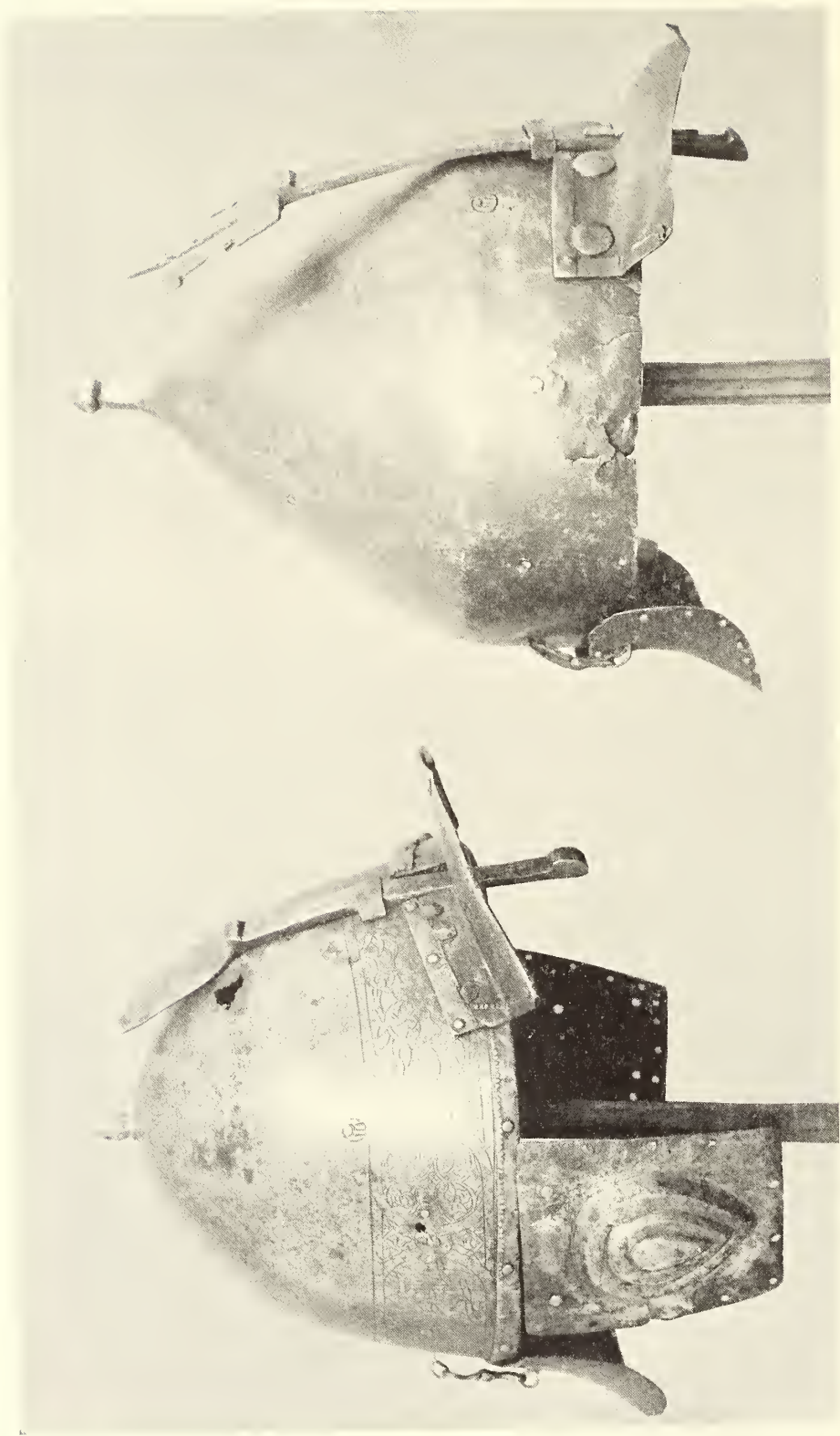


FIG. 13—MAMLÜKEN-HELME, ÄGYPTEN XVI JAHRH., ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

Der türkische Sultan Selīm I zog nach dem glücklichen Feldzug von 1514 gegen Persien, zwei Jahre später gegen Ägypten und besiegte in der Entscheidungsschlacht bei Ḥalab (Aleppo) den 80 jährigen Sultan Kānṣūh al-Ghūrī von Ägypten, der auf dem Schlachtfelde den Tod fand. Damit endete die Herrschaft der Mamlūken in Ägypten, das Land blieb bis zum XIX Jahrhundert türkisch. Als Siegesbeute liess Sultan Selīm I alle Waffen aus den Zeughäusern von Aleppo und Alexandria nach Istanbul schleppen, wo sie jetzt noch die Säle des Sarays und der Irenenkirche füllen. Man kann Selīm I demnach als einen der grosszügigsten Museumsgründer bezeichnen. Ein Panzerhemd aus Eisenringen, deren jeder einzelne eine arabische Inschrift eingestanz hat, ist auf Brust und Rücken mit vergoldeten und gravierten Eisenplatten verstärkt. Auf beiden Seiten nennen runde Medaillons den Namen des Besitzers: Al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū 'l-Naṣr Kāitbāy, also des Mamlükensultans von Ägypten, der 1468–1496 regierte (*Fig. 10*). Mehrere andere Panzerhemden aus gestanzten und mit Inschriften oder Ornamenten verzierten Ringen geben uns nunmehr die Gewissheit, dass diese Art von Panzerringen als mamlükische Arbeit anzusprechen ist.

Von dem, in der Schlacht bei Ḥalab gefallenen Mamlükensultan, Kānṣūh al-Ghūrī befinden sich zwei, mit seinem Namen gezeichnete Armschienen im Saray (*Fig. 11*). Die Silbereinfassung dieser Armschienen mit dem Namen des Khāns Selīm Girāy (Sohn des Fath Girāy Khān) der dem Türkischen Reiche unterworfenen Krimtataren und mit dem Datum 1173 d.H. (1760 n. Chr.) lässt erkennen, dass die Armschienen von den Türken in Aleppo erbeutet wurden, dann als Geschenke oder Beuteanteile nach der Krim gelangten und später, wahrscheinlich gelegentlich der Absetzung eines Krimtataren Khāns, wieder nach Istanbul zurückkehrten. Den gleichen Weg machten 4 Paar andere Armschienen mamlükischer Herkunft mit krimtatarischer Einfassung, von denen 2 Paar im Berliner Zeughaus und je ein Paar im British Museum in London und in der Waffensammlung G. Pauilhac in Paris sich befinden. Die auf all diesen Stücken angebrachte Rüstkammermarke des Arsenal Istanbul beweist, dass diese Armschienen nach der Erbeutung zunächst in diesem Arsenal aufbewahrt waren und von dort aus erst nach der Krim wanderten.

Eine ganze Reihe von Rossstirnen, bei denen leider meist eines der Backenstücke fehlt, kam ebenfalls als ägyptische Beute nach Istanbul. Diese, dem XV Jahrhundert angehörenden Rossstirnen waren aus Eisen mit getriebenen Ornamenten und im obersten Stirnteil mit einem Mamlūkenwappen versehen (*Fig. 12*). Bei der hier abgebildeten Rossstirne besteht das Wappen aus der in vielen Mamlūkenwappen vorkommenden Raute. Die eisernen Stirnen waren ganz überdeckt mit fein ziseliertem Goldblech, das mit Goldnieten befestigt war. Auf vorliegender Stirne kann man die als helle Punkte erscheinenden Goldnieten sowie am Backenstücke auch Reste des abgerissenen Goldbelages gut erkennen. Die hervorragende, nicht nur mit Geld sondern auch mit grosser Kenntnis zusammengebrachte Privatsammlung von Herrn G. Pauilhac in Paris besitzt sogar eine mamlükische Kamelstirne des XV Jahrhunderts, die auch aus dem Arsenal in Istanbul stammt.

Von den Mamlūken-Helmen seien hier zwei Stücke abgebildet (*Fig. 13*). Der linke Helm vom Anfang des XVI Jahrhunderts trägt den Namen des Emirs Sa'if al-Dīn al-Ashrafī

Khairbek des Gouverneurs von Aleppo im Jahre 1504/5. Die sich mehr der Halbkugel nähernde Helmform entspricht auch der gleichzeitigen türkischen Entwicklungsform. Der andere Helm hat die hohe konische Form des XV Jahrhunderts, das Naseneisen endet oben in der, in der Mamlükenheraldik häufig vorkommenden Form der heraldischen Lilie.

Von den Trabantenstreitäxten der Mamlüken-Sultane sind 2 Stück in Wien und Dresden durch das Werk der Muḥammedanischen Ausstellung bereits bekannt geworden. Das Saray besitzt ausser zahlreichen einfachen Äxten der gleichen Form mehrere herrliche, durchbrochen gearbeitete Streitäxte aus dem XV Jahrhundert. Unter den Streitkolben erinnert der ganze eiserne Kolben mit dem auf einer Art Kapitäl stehenden eisernen Löwen an altägyptische Formen (*Fig. 14*). Die Ornamentlinien auf dem Kapitäl sind mit roter Farbe eingelassen. Gleichzeitige Säulenornamentierung in Mamlükischen Moscheen lässt die Riffelung der Streitkolbenstiele in ihrem Wechsel von gerader und schräger Riffelung in das XIV–XV Jahrhundert datieren. Der gleichen Zeit gehört der Kolben mit Granatapfelknauf und in Eisen geschmiedetem ausgeblättertem Stiel und der ebenfalls ganz eiserne Kolben mit Blätterknauf an.

Von den vielen ägyptischen Schwertern des XIII und XV Jahrhunderts ist hier eine kleine, aber sehr aufschlussreiche Auswahl abgebildet (*Fig. 15*). Die auf den Klingen in Gravierung oder Goldtauschierung angebrachten Inschriften ergaben bei der Lesung folgende Besitzernamen (Reihenfolge von links nach rechts):

1. Dawādār (Tintenzeugträger, etwa Staatssekretär) Aibey,
2. Sultan Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī (1501–1516),
3. Sultan Ḳāitbāy (1468–1496),
4. Sultan Ṭūmānbāy (1501).

5. ist bezeichnet als Arbeit des 'Alī ibn Muḥammed al-Miṣrī, also eines Ägypters. Die beiden ersten Schwerter von links sind einschneidig, die übrigen zweischneidig.

Zu diesen Schwertern wäre zu bemerken, dass sie durchwegs gerade Klingen haben. Der früheste, hier nicht abgebildete Mamlükensäbel trägt den Namen des Sultans Ḳāitbāy, kann demnach nicht früher als 1468 entstanden sein. Die beiden ersten Schwerter sind gerade, aber einschneidig. Von den Besitzern ist Sultan Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī bekannt als vorletzter Sultan der Mamlüken, der 1516 inmitten seines Heeres tapfer kämpfend bei Aleppo fiel. Sein tragisches Ende beschreibt Muḥammed ibn Aḥmed ibn 'Iyās⁵ als Augenzeuge des Zusammenbruchs des Mamlükenreiches.

Sultan Ḳāitbāy, einer der tapfersten Mamlüken-Sultane, gewährte dem unglücklichen Bruder des türkischen Sultans Bāyazīd II, Prinzen Djem Schutz und geriet dadurch in einen Krieg mit der Türkei, den er siegreich führte. Sultan Ṭūmānbāy ist nicht der letzte Mamlüken-Sultan, den Sultan Selīm II grausamer Weise aufhängen liess, sondern (nach Angabe Halil Ethem Bey's) der nur 5 Monate des Jahres 1501 herrschende Al-'Adil Saif al-Dīn Ṭūmānbāy.

⁵ W. Salmon, "An Account of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in the year A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516)," *Journal of*

the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1921.

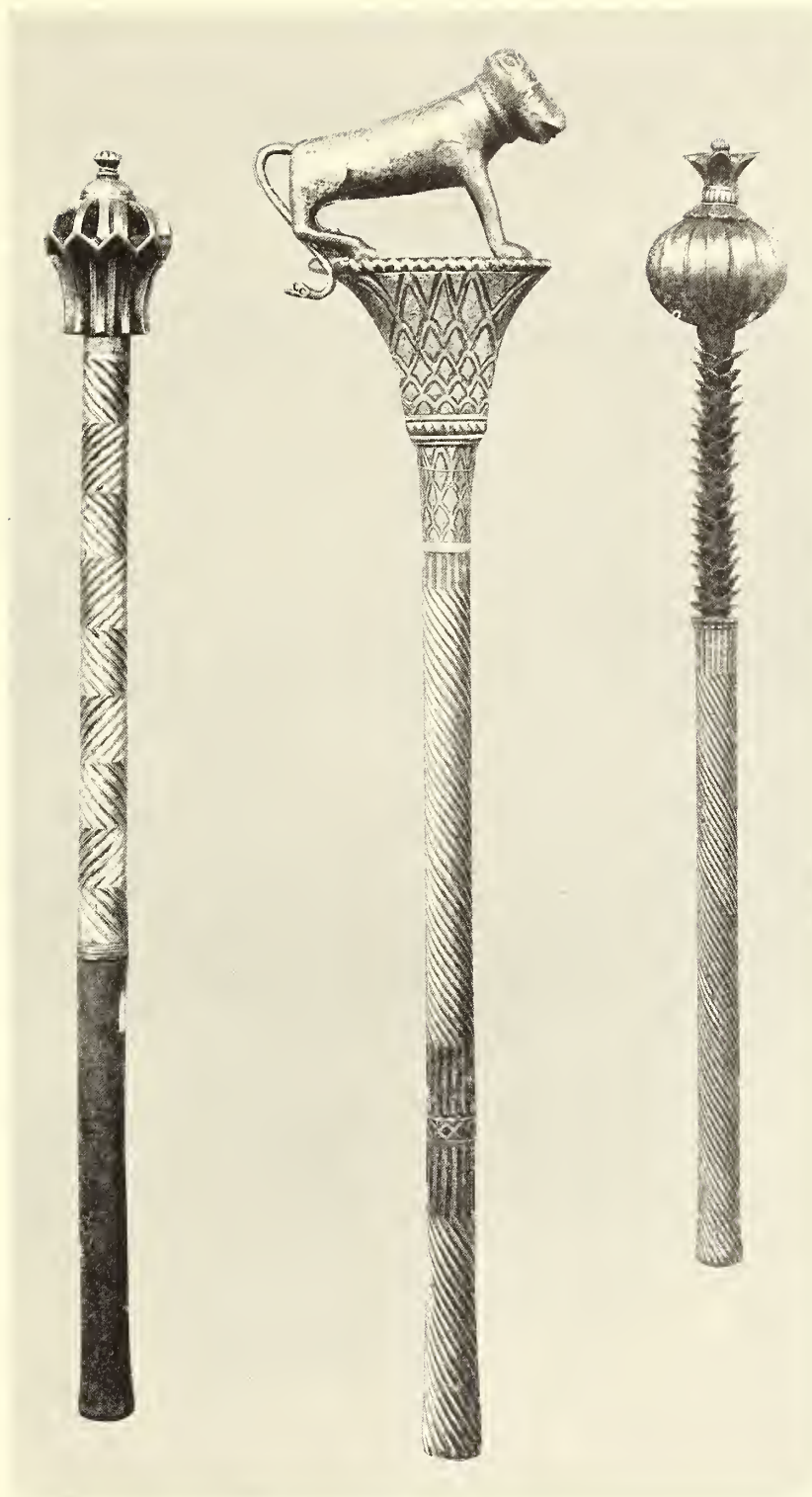


FIG. 14—MAMLŪKISCHE STREITKOLBEN, ÄGYPTEN XV JAHRH.
ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

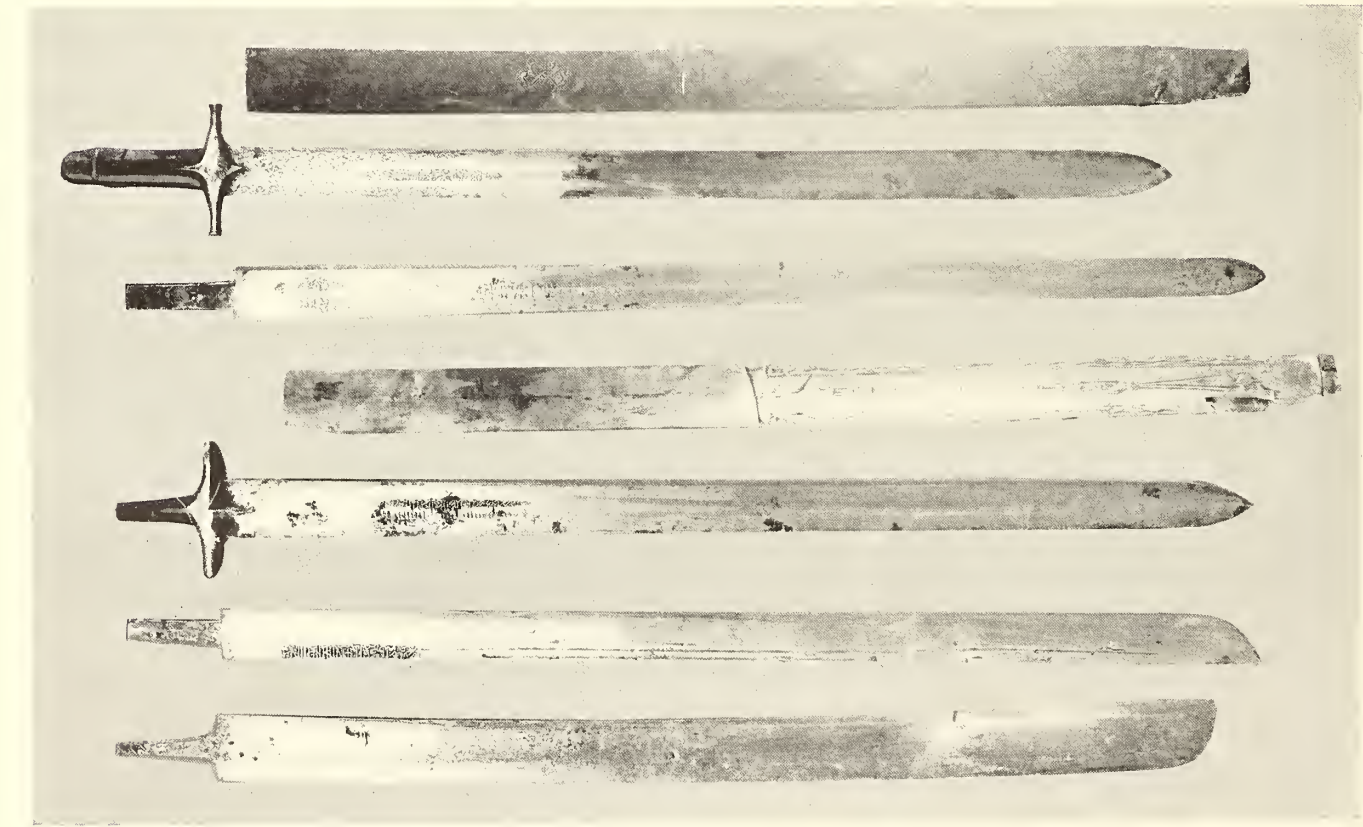


FIG. 15—ÄGYPTISCHE SCHWERTE, XV-XVI JAHRH.

ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ

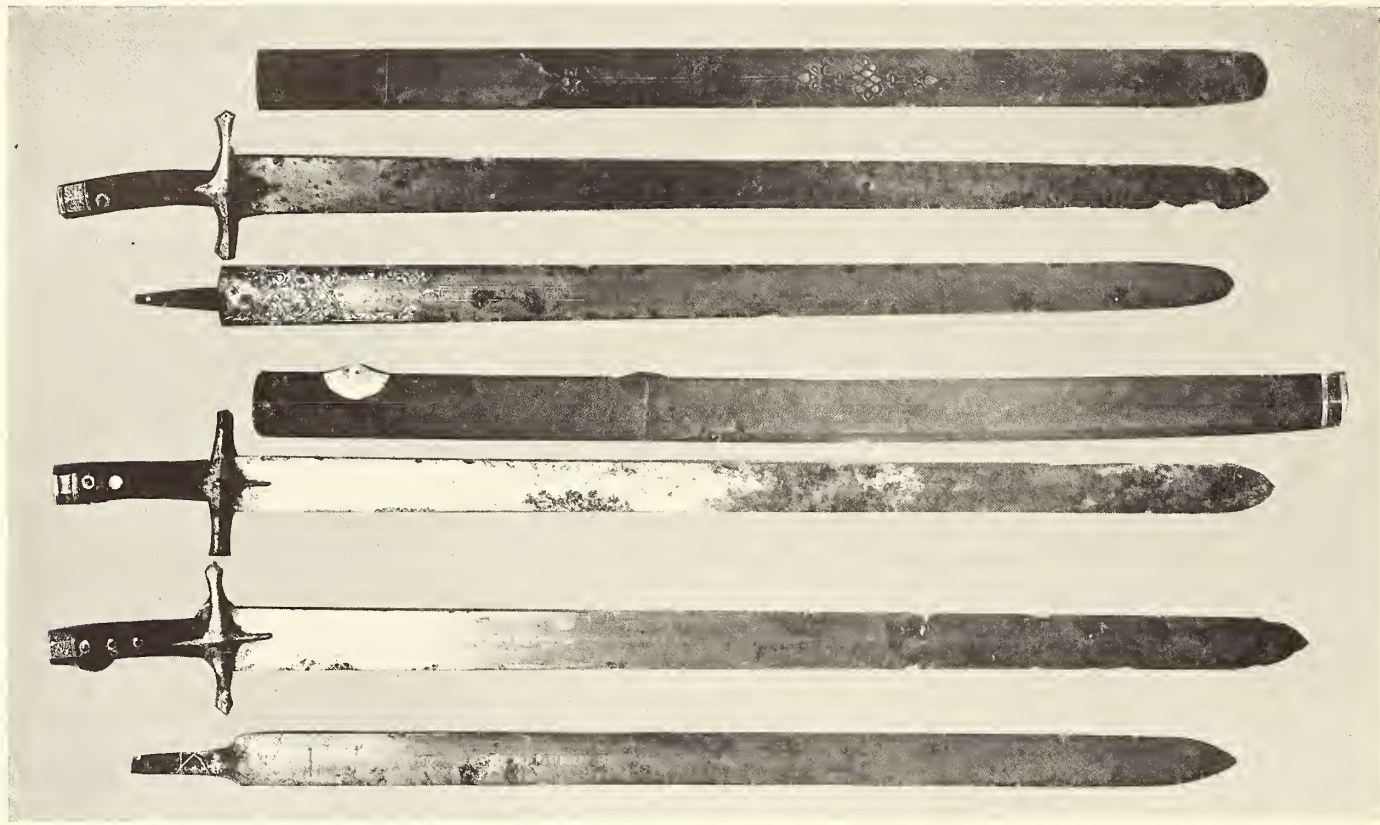


FIG. 16—OMAYYADISCHE UND 'ABBÄSIDISCHE SCHWERTE, VIII-XIII JAHRH.

Die mittlere Scheide, die zu dem Schwerte Sultan Kāitbāy's gehört, gibt ein Bild der Herstellung dieser Scheiden. Sie besteht aus Holzblättern, auf denen Ornamente geschnitzt sind, über welche das hier fehlende Leder gepresst wurde.

Auf der Klinge des Schwertes von 'Alī ibn Muḥammed sind Pflanzenornamente und Schriftzeichen eingraviert, deren Stilistik sowohl, als auch Form und Länge der Klinge in das XIV Jahrhundert weist. Aus dem Beinamen: al- Miṣrī, kann geschlossen werden, dass die Klinge nicht in Ägypten selbst hergestellt wurde, da sonst der Beiname keinen Sinn hätte, sondern etwa in Syrien oder einem anderen benachbarten Lande.

In vorstehenden Ausführungen lernten wir Waffen des XIV bis XVII Jahrhunderts kennen. Bei Ausleerung der mit Waffen gefüllten Kisten kamen nun verschiedene Schwerter zum Vorschein, die nach Form und Ornamentik einen sehr frühmittelalterlichen Charakter hatten. Nach Lesung der Inschriften auf den Klingen dieser Schwerter durch Generaldirektor Halil Ethem Bey zeigte sich, dass diese Schwertergruppe die historisch wertvollsten Stücke des Saray's enthielt (*Fig. 16*). In der Reihenfolge von links nach rechts vom Beschauer, ergeben die Inschriften folgende ehemalige Besitzer dieser Schwerter:

1. Klinge mit der Bezeichnung des Waffenschmiedes und der Jahreszahl der Herstellung 100 d.H. also 719 n. Chr., sowie dem Namen des Omayyadischen Kalifen 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, des frommen Kalifen, der aus Abscheu vor dem Kriege die auf Eroberungszügen befindlichen Truppen zurückholte. Er regierte nur 2 Jahre und starb 39 Jahre alt am 9.11.720 n. Chr. (101 d.H.).

2. Schwert mit eiserner Parierstange und Silber-vergoldeter graviert Grifffkappe. Die Klinge ist bezeichnet mit dem Namen des Kalifen Abū Aḥmed al-Musta'sim (regiert 640–656 d.H., 1242–1258 n. Chr.). Musta'sim war der letzte der 'Abbāsiden Kalifen in Bagdad und verbummelte die Zeit mit Musikanten und Spassmachern, während schon das Mongolenheer unter Hülāgū, dem Enkel Čingiz Khāns vor den Toren stand. Bagdad fiel und der Kalif wurde auf Befehl Hülāgū's am 20.11.1258 n. Chr. hingerichtet. Seinem Onkel, dem Mustanşir gelang es mit den Schwertern Muḥammeds nach Kairo zu entfliehen und dort das Kalifat neu zu errichten. Er brachte wahrscheinlich auch die Kalifenschwerter nach Ägypten, von wo sie Sultan Selīm I nach dem Fall des Mamlūkenreichs mit dem Kalifat selbst nach Istanbul überführte.

3. Das dritte Schwert mit fast gleichem Griff ist auf der Klinge mit der Jahrzahl 105 d.H., 724 n. Chr., und mit dem Namen des 724–743 n. Chr. in Bagdad herrschenden Omayyadischen Kalifen Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, der als Sohn einer christlichen Mutter religiös duldsam, aber wegen seines Geizes verhasst war. In seine Regierungszeit fällt das Riesenwerk der Trockenlegung der Sümpfe Babylons und das Vordringen der Araber nach Frankreich, bis sie 732 bei Tours durch Karl Martell endgültig nach Spanien zurückgeworfen wurden.

4. Klinge eines Schwertes mit Silbertauschierung. Die Klinge ist älter als Tauschierung und Inschrift, welche letztere besagt, dass das Schwert einem Zeitgenossen Muḥammeds, dem Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda⁶ gehört hat. Die Klinge kann auch aus der Zeit von Sa'd stammen.

⁶ Bei Cl. Huart, *Geschichte der Araber*, Leipzig, 1914, I, S. 168, als Feldherr Muḥammeds genannt.

5. Schwert mit Klinge des VII oder VIII Jahrhunderts, eiserner Parierstange und silberner Griffkappe, die an den Seiten Pflanzenornamente auf einem Grund von blauem durchsichtigem Email (Grubenemail) zeigt. Der jetzige Griff ist im XIV Jahrhundert entstanden, wie auch die schwarze Lederscheide mit gepressten Ornamenten und gemalten Goldverzierungen. Über das auf der Seite auftretende Knotenornament habe ich einen im allgemeinen richtigen, aber in einigen Punkten verbesserungsfähigen Aufsatz geschrieben.⁷

Die ganz ausserordentliche Bedeutung dieser Schwertgruppe, die uns mit einem Schlag die Augen öffnet über die Schwerter der unmittelbaren Nachkommen des Propheten, braucht kaum nähere Begründung. Die alten Begriffe der Bewaffnung der Araber zur Zeit ihrer ersten Eroberungszüge und zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge fallen damit endgültig. Dem europäischen Kreuzfahrer mit geradem zweischneidigem Schwert stand als gleich ritterlicher Gegner der Araber mit gleichem geraden Ritterschwert gegenüber.

Der Eroberer Konstantinopels, Sultan Mehmed II, hatte teils gerade zweischneidige Schwerter, teils leichtgekrümmte Säbel, von beiden Formen sind bezeichnete Beispiele im Saray aufgestellt. Doch kommt der Säbel bereits bei den Seldjüken des XIV Jahrhunderts vor. Jedenfalls ist der Ursprung des Säbels bei den mongolischen Reiterheeren zu suchen, von denen er nach und nach teils auf die unterjochten Völker, teils auf benachbarte Stämme übergriff. Aber noch im XV und XVI Jahrhundert finden sich gerade Schwerter in diesen Ländern und besonders Schwerter, die zu irgendwelchen zeremoniellen Zwecken dienten oder auch nur alt aussehen sollten, waren bis in das XIX Jahrhundert hinein zweischneidig und gerade. Die gleiche Entwicklung macht das auch ursprünglich gerade indische Schwert durch.⁸

Leider ist es im Rahmen einer Zeitschrift nicht möglich, auf Einzelheiten in Ornamentik und Formenentwicklung einzugehen, es konnte nur an der Hand weniger Bilder ein kleiner Überblick gegeben werden. Die ja ebenfalls hochwichtigen europäischen Waffen konnten hier gar nicht besprochen werden. Ich hoffe sehr, dass mir noch Gelegenheit gegeben wird, einen Katalog der Saray-Sammlung herauszugeben und dabei die noch fehlende Lesung vieler Waffeninschriften durch Sprachforscher nachzuholen. Zur Einzelbearbeitung des gefundenen Materials habe ich Waffengeschichten der Araber, Mamlüken, Türken, Krimtataren u.s.w. vorbereitet. Erst jetzt ist es möglich geworden, an solche Arbeiten heranzutreten.⁹

⁷ *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1914–15, S. 118 ff.

⁸ Bei dem bedauerlichen Mangel an datierbaren indischen Schwertern ist es sehr zu begrüßen, dass im Saray ein indisches Schwert mit mamlükischer Fassung

des XV Jahrhunderts wieder einmal eine Lücke ausfüllt.

⁹ Für Genehmigung der Reproduktion der Sarayaufnahmen habe ich dem neuen Generaldirektor Herrn Aziz Bey meinen herzlichen Dank auszusprechen.

ON CERTAIN ARABIC TERMS FOR "RUG"

BY WILLIAM H. WORRELL

IN SEARCHING THE ARABIC GEOGRAPHERS AND SIMILAR WRITERS FOR EVIDENCE ON THE provenance or history of oriental rugs, it becomes apparent that the terminology is fluid and inexact. Neither the European dictionaries, nor the Arabic dictionaries on which they are for the most part based, nor the Arabic writers, are clear as to the precise or special meaning of the various words in current use for "rug," or some special kind of rug. This is not remarkable, for words in all languages suffer continual change, if only through shift of emphasis. In the United States a "biscuit" is no longer something "twice-baked," but rather something "half-baked"; a "cane" is no longer a "reed" walking-stick, but rather a "walking-stick" regardless of its material; "rubbers" are not "erasers" but "galoshes"; a "steinkrug" is not an "earthen jar"; but, in the abbreviated form, "stein" is applied to what the Germans call a "seidel." We must expect therefore, from time to time, and from place to place, some shift of meaning or emphasis in the Arabic words for "rug." To be perfectly sure of the meaning of a word in a given work we should have to secure a contemporary and local definition. That has not yet been done. For the present however it may be useful to study the history of the terms as it appears from a comparison of the dictionaries.

Bisāṭ, plural *busuṭ*, is a genuine Arabic word, from the verb *basāṭa*, "to spread out," and it means "anything that is spread out": *Wal-bisāṭ ma busiṭa* (Lisān, *s.v.*). From the Lisān it is quite clear that *bisāṭ* means "an ample rug," one that is not too small. In modern Egypt, in the form *busāṭ*, the word signifies "a large rug," as distinguished from *saggāda*, "a small rug." *Shartūnī*, *s.v.*, without references, says that a *bisāṭ* is "a variety of the *ṭinfasa* (*q.v. inf.*), long, of slight width": *Ḍarb min aṭ-ṭanāfis, ṭawīl, ḵalīl al-'arḍ*. Probably he, or his source, is using *ṭinfasa* in the general sense of "rug." There is no other evidence of this meaning, "a long, narrow rug," and the definition may be doctrinaire and etymological. It appears then that *bisāṭ* indicates *any large or ample rug*, possibly a long rug, of whatever material, thickness, surface or ornamental design.

Ṭinfasa, plural *ṭanāfis*, also *ṭunfusa* (Lisān, *s.v.*) and even *ṭanfasa*, *ṭinfisa*, *ṭanfisa* (*Shartūnī*, *s.v.*), is not a genuine Arabic word (if we are permitted to exclude so ancient a loan-word), and corresponds to no primary Arabic verb. *Ṭanfasa*, "to wear many clothes," is probably derived from the noun in question; even in the sense "to change one's character for the worse," the verb may be derived from the noun, through the idea of "overdressing." This is borne out by the fact that the participle, *muṭanfisa*, as applied to the sky, means "covered over (with clouds)": *Yukālu lis-samā' . . . muṭanfisa idhā istaghmadat* (Lisān, *s.v.*). The Aramaic origin of *ṭinfasa* (cf. *ṭanpestā*, Brockelmann, *s.v.*) has been recognized for some time; though, of course, the word has a very wide distribution. It is the Greek *tapēs*, Latin *tapes* and *tapetum*, German *tapete*, English *tapestry*, etc. My point is that *ṭinfasa* cannot be explained by any Arabic etymology, because it is a very ancient inter-

national commercial word of the Near East, and because it has lost whatever special meaning it may once have had. This does not prevent the word, however, from acquiring a special meaning in Arabic. The *Lisān*, s.v., defines *ṭinfasa* as "the *bisāt* which has a fine pile (or fringe?)": *Al-bisāt alladhī lahu khaml rakīk*. That we are justified in translating "nap" or "pile" is seen from Dozy, s.v.: *Muṭanfasa*, "Sorte d'étoffe velue de fabrique européenne." *Wahrmund*, s.v., without references, goes so far as to say: "Grobzottiges Tuch oder Teppich; Matte aus Palmblättern." The idea here is decidedly that of "shagginess." Cf. the use of *muṭanfisa* (sic!) above as describing a clouded sky. And yet, of course, the sense "fringe" is not excluded. It appears then that *ṭinfasa* means a *pile rug* or a fringed rug, without reference to any other quality. And yet *Shartūnī*, s.v., says: "And the *ṭinfasa* . . . is the *bisāt* . . . and the garment": *Waṭ-ṭinfasa . . . al-bisāt . . . wath-thaub*.

Zarbīya, plural *zarābī*, also *zīrbīya* and *zurbīya* (*Lisān*, s.v.) is a genuine Arabic word, even occurring in the *Qur'ān* (LXXXVIII, 16). Its form is one common to words indicating appliances, such as *shamsīya*, "parasol," *fiṣkīya*, "fountain," *ḥanafīya*, "spigot"; and accordingly may be assumed to be derived from a noun, *zarb*, *zīrb* or *zurb*. For this we have only *zarb* or *zīrb*, "sheep-fold," "hunters' blind" etc. and *zīrb*, "canal." The verb *izrabb* (ninth form), to "turn yellow and red while there is green in it": . . . *iṣfarr wa-iḥmarr wa-fīhi khudra* (*Lisān*, s.v.), is probably derived from the noun *zarbīya*, not from a primitive root with any such meaning as "to turn many-colored in the process of drying up." The foliage is therefore compared to the variegated rugs, and not the rugs to the variegated foliage. The *Lisān*, s.v., says: "The vegetables *izrabb* when there begins in them the dryness with a greenness and a yellowness": *Izrabb al-baḳl idhā badā fīhi al-yubs bi-khudra wa-ṣufra*. Again it says: "*Zarābī* (refers to) the plant when it has turned yellow and red, while there is green in it. And (under these conditions) it has *izrabb*ed. Then, when people saw the colors in the *bisāts* and the carpets, they compared them to the *zarābī* of the plant": *Zarābī an-nabt idhā iṣfarr wa-iḥmarr wa-fīhi khudra*. *Wa-ḳad izrabb*. *Fa-lamma ra'au al-'alwān fil-busut wal-furush shabbahūhā bi-zarābī an-nabt*. Generally speaking, it is far more natural to name a kind of rug after a plant in a certain condition, than to describe the condition of a plant as being like that of a certain kind of rug; and yet the latter is conceivable. Do we not call certain flowers "blue bells," "bachelor's buttons" and what not, regardless of the fact that our ancestors must have seen the flowers before they ever saw bells and buttons? Truth is that, at the time these names were invented, acquaintance was stronger with bells and buttons than with these particular flowers. In any event, *izrabb* is naturally derived from the noun *zarbīya*, just as *iswadd*, "to grow black," is derived from the noun, *aswad*, "a black thing." It is impossible to derive *izrabb* from the verb *zarab*, "to make a sheep-fold," "to drive sheep into a sheep-fold"; or from *zarib*, "to flow." It can only be derived from *zarbīya*.

Al-Iṣfahānī (on *Surah LXXXVIII*, 16) has this idea when he says: "*Zarābī* is the plural of *zīrb*" (for which however there is no authority). "And it is a variety of the garments" (or goods?), "ornamented, named after a place, by way of comparison and metaphor. . . . And

the *zīrb* . . . is the place of the sheep and the blind of the bowman”: *Az-zarābī djam‘ zīrb. Wa-huwa darb min ath-thiyāb, muḥabbar, manṣūb ilā maḍī‘, ‘alā ṭarīk at-tashbīh wal-isti‘āra . . . Waz-zīrb . . . maḍī‘ al-ghanam wa-ḡutrat ar-rāmī*. Al-Iṣḫānī is evidently thinking of a “sheep-fold design,” whatever that may be, perhaps a figure reminding one of the outlines of a hedge or thicket. He may be right, but I think he has made the mistake of choosing the wrong meaning for *zīrb*. He should have taken it in the sense of “canal.” Wahrmund, *s.v.*, defines *zarbīya* as “grosser, kostbarer Teppich, roth und weiss gestreift,” and refers to “Z,” who may be az-Zamakhsharī (I have no way of verifying the reference). Here Wahrmund’s source has evidently taken *zīrb* in the meaning of “canal.” This would, like *maḥfūra* (*vid. infr.*), indicate stripes of color. I think that this is the true interpretation, and that a *zarbīya* is a *striped rug of many colors*.

Nevertheless it is used without any special meaning. The Lisān, *s.v.*, says: “The *zarbīyas* are *bisāṭs*; and it is said (that they are) everything that is spread out and reclined upon”: *Al-zarābī al-busūṭ; wa-ḡīla kull mā busiṭa wa-uttukī‘a ‘alaihi*. It is not surprising then that the Lisān, *s.v.*, equates *zarbīya* with *ṭinfasa*: “And it is said they (*zarbīyas*) are *ṭinfasas*”: *Wa-ḡīla hiya aṭ-ṭanāfis*. In support of this it cites a tradition: “And they took the *zarbīya* of my mother, and he ordered it brought, so the *zarbīya*, the *ṭinfasa*, was returned”: *Fa-‘akhadhū zarbiyat ‘ummī, fa-‘amara bihā, fa-ruddat az-zarbīya, aṭ-ṭinfasa*. It is not to be concluded then that the *zarbīya* has any of the special qualities of the *ṭinfasa*, but only that both words are used in a general sense. In fact, so far from being a pile rug (*ṭinfasa*), Shartūnī, *s.v.*, says, on the authority of Khalīl (an early and important writer): “The *zarbīyas* are the thin (or fine, or soft) pieces of (the city of) Ḥīra”: *Az-zarābī al-ḡutū‘ al-ḡīrīya ar-raḡīka*. Nevertheless the *zarbīya* may have a pile, for ar-Rāzī quotes al-Djauharī (also an early and important writer): “The *zarbīyas* are saddle-cushions”: *Az-zarābī an-namāriḡ*. To this ar-Rāzī objects, saying: “But how could the *zarbīyas* be saddle-cushions? They are merely piled *ṭinfasas*, *bisāṭs*”: *Fa-kaiḡa yakūn az-zarābī an-namāriḡ? Wa-‘innamā hiya aṭ-ṭanāfis al-muḡhmala al-busūṭ*. The Lisān, *s.v.*, also indicates that the *zarbīya* may have a pile: “And it is said (it may be) the possessor of a pile”: *Wa-ḡīla dhū al-ḡhaml*. As if combining the statement of Khalīl, that the *zarbīya* is thin, and the statement of ar-Rāzī, that it has a pile, the Lisān, *s.v.*, says: “They are *ṭinfasas* having a thin (or fine, or soft) pile”: *Hiya aṭ-ṭanāfis lahā ḡhaml raḡīk*. From all of this I should conclude that the *zarbīya* may have a pile, and may at the same time be thin, or fine, or soft.¹ But this would not interfere with the conclusion already reached, that the *zarbīya* is a rug having colored stripes.

Maḥfūra and *maḥfūrī* are not found in the Lisān, ar-Rāzī, al-Bustānī or Shartūnī, nor in Salmoné, Hava, Elias (modern literary vocabulary) or Spiro (Egyptian vernacular), which would seem to indicate that the words, as names of rugs, are neither ancient nor of

¹ Ethiopic *zarbēt* (Dillmann, *s.v.*), “*tapes, tapetum, utrimque villosum*.” The age of this Arabic loan word

is attested by its occurrence in the Ethiopic Book of Proverbs.

general distribution. Wahrmund, *s.v.*, defines *maḥfūrī* as "grosser Teppich," and does not give *maḥfūra*. Dozy, *s.v.*, gives *al-busuṭ al-maḥfūra* (from Ibn Khaldūn) as equivalent to *ṭinfasa maḥfūra*, and repeats de Slane's translation of the former: "des tapis couverts de dessins en relief." Evidently *maḥfūra* and *maḥfūrī* are derived from the common Arabic passive participle, *maḥfūr*, "dug out," "hollowed out," "engraved"; and the name is applied to rugs having on the surface "fossæ" or "striæ" (de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, IV, Index), either actually in relief or intaglio, or, as Karabaček (de Goeje, *loc. cit.*) thought, giving the illusion of canals through "farbenshattierung," stripes of different colors. As de Goeje (*loc. cit.*) rightly observes, the lexicographers have been misled into postulating a locality, *Maḥfūr*, which does not exist. Thus the Kāmūs, *s.v.*, says: "And Maḥfūr is on the shore of the Mediterranean . . . and in it the *bisāṭs* are woven": *Wa-maḥfūr bi-shaṭṭ baḥr ar-rūm . . . wa-yunsadj bihā al-busuṭ*.

Yāḳūt (IV, 144, line 6) says that in his day the terms *maḥfūra* and *zūlīya* had taken the place of the older word, *ḩaṭīfa*, meaning goods with a pile, used as carpet; and he derives *ḩaṭīfa* from *ḩuṭaiyifa*, a village the location of which he exactly describes. I have not succeeded in identifying this village. The name *ḩuṭaiyifa* would seem, as Yāḳūt admits, to be merely a diminutive of *ḩaṭīfa*, which has no other meaning than "rug" and the like. If the village exists, or existed, it was named after its product, and not the product after the village. In that case the word *ḩaṭīfa* remains still unexplained. Yāḳūt's procedure in this case is instructive, for it throws doubt upon the existence of *Maḥfūr*. It appears then that the *maḥfūra* or the *maḥfūrī* rug is characterized by a design in relief or intaglio, or by a design which gives that effect.

In conclusion, if distinctions are sought, I think that *bisāṭ* is used of any large rug, *ṭinfasa* of any pile rug, *zarbīya* of any striped rug in several colors, and *maḥfūra* of any rug with designs in real or apparent relief.

ABBREVIATIONS

Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Berlin, 1895.
 al-Bustānī, *ḩaṭr al-muḩit*, Beirut (without date).
 Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, Leipzig, 1865.
 al-Ḑjauharī, *Ṣaḩāḩ al-ʿarabiya*, Bulaq, 1282 (A.H.).
 Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*, Leyden, 1881.
 Elias, *Modern Dictionary, Arabic-English*, Cairo, 1922.
 de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Leyden, 1870 ff.
 Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, Beirut, 1899.
 al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī ḩharīb al-ḩurʿān*, Cairo (without date).
 Kāmūs, *al-Kāmūs al-muḩit* (Fīrūzābādī), Cairo, 1913.
 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḩaddama*, ed. Quartremère, Paris, 1858.

Lisān, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Ibn Mukarram), Cairo, 1308 (A.H.)
 ar-Rāzī, *Muḩtār aṣ-ṣaḩāḩ*, 1308 (A.H.)
 Salmoné, *An Arabic-English Dictionary*, London, 1890.
 Ṣhartūnī, *Aḩrab al-mawārid*, Beirut, 1889-1893.
 de Slane, *Prolegomènes historiques d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Paris, 1862-1868.
 Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary*, Cairo, 1895.
 Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der deutschen und neu-arabischen Sprache*, Giessen, 1870-1877.
 Yāḳūt, *Muḩḩam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeldt, Leipzig, 1866 ff.
 az-Zamaḩsharī, *Muḩaddimat al-adab*, ed. Wetzstein, Leipzig, 1844.

HINGES UPON TURKISH DOORS ARE USUALLY CONCEALED; ORNAMENTAL LOCKS ARE RARELY employed; knobs and knockers are replaced by metal rings backed by round metal plates or discs. Rings and discs, therefore, usually constitute the sole metal furnishings. The rings are unadorned tubular or solid pieces of iron, copper or brass, which in size and material correspond to the discs behind them. These discs, on the contrary, vary greatly in size and ornamentation. Their development and transition, as embodied in the domestic and ecclesiastical buildings erected in Istanbul between the conquest and the beginning of the XXth century, provide the material for the present study, essentially one of observation of door furnishings *in situ*. As this study deals exclusively with Turkish doors, and primarily with those doors in the Istanbul region, it omits from consideration the doors of buildings in Istanbul which antedate the Turkish conquest.

The data have been assembled from four principal sources. First, doors of those buildings which elsewhere might be designated as historical monuments. For convenience they will be called principal ecclesiastical buildings, a designation justified by the fact that the majority of them were built by Sultāns, who were also Califs, as acts of piety, and, furthermore, by the fact that they were in the custody of religious sects. Such buildings include all of the Imperial mosques and their dependencies, medresses, türbes, 'imārets, ḥamāms, etc. etc. Principal ecclesiastical buildings, being dated, are an important source of information as they shed light upon the door furnishings employed at the time of their construction or, which is equally valuable, those used at the time of their most recent restoration.

Second, contemporary ecclesiastical buildings of lesser importance. The gathering of data from this source necessitated visiting nearly two thirds of the 527 mosques located in the Istanbul region. The mosques that were not visited were of recent construction and known to be devoid of historical and artistic interest.

Third, domestic buildings of Istanbul, Üsküdar and the Bosphorus littoral. As regards Istanbul and Üsküdar the pertinent information was obtained by dividing maps into small sections and, using these as guides, walking the length of every public way in each section taking note along the ways of the houses, their doors and door furnishings. The Bosphorus region, being more sparsely settled, did not require such detailed examination. The doors of the houses by the sea, or yālīs as they are called in Turkey, and the pavilions or köşhks on the hillsides, offer indisputable evidence of the development of door furnishings during the past three hundred odd years.¹

¹ This study is largely confined to the development of doors and door metal furnishings in Turkish domestic buildings, since the principal ecclesiastical buildings can hardly be called representative. The latter buildings were

designed by architects who usually had at their disposition all of the money that they required and thus were able to indulge their fancy for innovations and artistic experiments. The innovations that did not receive pop-

Fourth, old buildings located outside of the Istanbul region.² Information from the four sources mentioned above has been gathered as inclination dictated and weather permitted between the autumn of 1928 and the autumn of 1933.

The oldest domestic buildings in Istanbul which still retain their original doors are the thick-walled stone and brick houses of the Fanar quarter.³ These houses, built during the last half of the XVth and the first half of the XVIth centuries, have doors of iron, for the better protection of the inhabitants against fire and marauders. Some of these doors have horizontal and vertical iron reinforcements and others are studded with bolt heads. These reinforcements are not arranged so as to decorate the small, sturdy doors of the Fanar houses. On each of these doors an iron ring, held in place by an iron staple, is the only furnishing visible from the street.⁴

Houses built in Istanbul after 1550, judging by the accounts of historians and examples that are standing today, were seldom equipped with iron doors. For the protection of the inhabitants it was no longer necessary to construct them like the bank-vault houses of the Fanar. Accordingly they are larger and built of wood more often than not. The doors are also larger than those of the Fanar houses, and beginning about 1550, double doors came into general use.⁵ The street doors, made of heavy timbers, of the middle XVIth century houses are unadorned except for a wrought iron disc placed behind the iron ring, indistinguishable from those used on the Fanar houses, on each of the double doors.⁶ The ring serves

ular approval by later incorporation in the domestic architecture of the region were rarely used again and are, therefore, only of incidental interest in a study of this kind. The examples of civil architecture which are standing today, such as the *khāns* of Istanbul, were built for a particular purpose and underwent little modification throughout the centuries.

² In order to add to the data obtained in and around Istanbul the following towns were visited: Amāsia, Anḳara, Anṭālya, Bursa, Čorūm, Edirne, Ƙaiṣerī, Sīvās and Toḳāt. In these towns most of my time was devoted to the examination of old ecclesiastical and civil buildings.

³ Sulṭān Meḥmed II Fātiḥ in 1466 built the Čin-ili Köṣhḳ as his residence. This is the first domestic building built in Istanbul after the conquest whose date of construction is definitely known and which is standing today. The principal door of this building was of iron. The present iron door, however, dates from a recent restoration.

⁴ Rings like those used on the doors of the Fanar houses were used down to the XIXth century when a flattened type of ring was introduced. Cf. Fig. 3, no. 6. A few years later this type was modified by elongating the lower flattened side so that the middle XIXth cen-

tury rings were pear-shaped. These were used until door rings and discs went out of style.

⁵ The *khāns* of Istanbul were, like the houses, built with large double street doors. However, unlike the doors of the houses, these were invariably of iron or heavy timbers covered with iron plates and studded with bolt heads. The doors to the rooms opening off the central courts of the *khāns* were simple ones like most of those to the Fanar houses. In Istanbul the Ḥasan Pāshā *Khān*, built in 1593, the Wālidē *Khān* and the Büyük Yeni *Khān*, both of XVIIth century construction, have doors of these types.

⁶ Plain iron discs were used for many years before this time to ornament doors in mosques. There is a Seldjūḳ door from Konya adorned with such discs on exhibit in the Türk ve İslam Asarī Müzesi, Istanbul. Cf. G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, Vol. I, p. 333. There is also in the museum at Bursa a door from the house of Sulṭān Murād I (1315-1389) with iron furnishings. The east door to the Ulu *Djāmi'* at Bursa is similarly ornamented. Still another door of this type is that to the minbar of Ulu *Djāmi'* at Birge. Cf. R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in South-western Anatolia*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 28. Five of the türbes in the Murādiye enclosure at Bursa have doors so decorated.

as a combined door knob and knocker, and the disc prevents it from marring and eventually wearing away the wood at the place where it would strike the door. These discs are not usually incised or perforated, although in a few examples that date from this period I have observed them with perforations which resemble modern keyholes.⁷

The XVIth century saw many brilliant victories for Turkish arms, and many splendid public and private buildings erected in Istanbul with the proceeds of the spoils thereof. Thus, as the Ottoman Empire grew in strength and wealth so did the doors of the subjects of the Sultān increase in richness and beauty. It was in this century that the great architect Sinān built many glorious edifices for the Pādīshāh and his Pāshās. The rich of the land lavishly expended their gold in building *konāks* in the city, *kōshks* in the country and *yālīs* beside the sea. Since these, and particularly the *kōshks* and *yālīs*, were essentially pleasure houses they incorporated every luxury. It was such houses that Lady Mary Montagu visited and described in her letters to friends in England. Although she made no mention of door furnishings, those of us, who are privileged today to examine the ruins of the great houses that Lady Mary Montagu and her contemporaries saw in their splendor, find evidence in the remaining door furnishings to prove that they were in keeping with walls "wainscotted with mother of pearl fastened with emeralds like nails."⁸

During the last of the XVIth century the plain timber double doors were superseded by larger and finer ones more in keeping with the times. Each one of these doors usually is divided into three sections.⁹ The central section normally is equal to half the height of the door and dividing it from the upper and lower sections, which are usually equal in size, are wooden cross pieces. Small perforated metal discs similar in design but usually smaller in size to the two principal discs decorate the cross pieces. From three to six discs, each held in place by a nail with a bulbous head, ordinarily adorn each of the four cross pieces in a set of double doors. Every principal door in important public or private buildings built between the end of the XVIth and the end of the XVIIIth century is decorated in this manner. The shutters to windows also, which customarily were constructed like small double doors, are similarly decorated.

It may be well to emphasize here that many beautiful designs were created in the XVIth century to replace the simple iron discs that prevailed in the XVth century.¹⁰ A number

⁷ Cf. Fig. 1, no. 3. This disc is from a XVIth century building in Anatolia.

⁸ Cf. Fig. 1, nos. 1 and 2. No. 1 illustrates a fine XVIIIth century disc and no. 2 a beautiful XVIIth century disc. Discs like no. 1 are found at: Selīm mosque, north and south doors to court; Kilise mosque doors; Yērē Bātān Sarāy, court doors; doors to a *konāk* on the Topkapu *Djāddēsī* near the Topkapu gate.

⁹ Cf. C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin, 1912, for a discussion of Turkish architecture.

Figs. 163 and 219 illustrate Turkish doors. Cf. also Celal Esat, *Türk Mimarisi*, Istanbul, 1928.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Aziz Bey of the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities for his kindness in searching the records of the museum to the end of determining whether there exist in the drawings of the famous Turkish architects now in the custody of the museum any sketches of door discs. None was found. It is difficult, if not impossible, to attribute a particular design to an architect such as Ilyās 'Alī, Khaīr al-Dīn, Sinān or Meḥmed Aghā for disc designs are rarely found engraved on stone or

of these are illustrated in Fig. 2.¹¹ All of the discs shown in this plate are of copper. They all are types created in the XVIth century but used throughout the XVIIth century.¹² Under the many coatings of paint some of them show traces of once having been plated with gold. *In situ* they are backed by colored leather or cloth which brings into clear relief the designs formed by the perforations. The development from a simple to a complex pattern is shown in Fig. 2, Nos. 9 to 13 inclusive. The increasing complexity of the pattern in this, as in most cases, does not indicate a development over a period of years but rather indicates the relative importance of the door for which the particular disc was designed. A principal door requires a larger and correspondingly more ornate disc than a secondary door. No. 13 of Fig. 2, for example, came from a door opening into a reception room of a XVIIth century *konāk* at *Djihāngir* (Istanbul) which was recently demolished. Similar discs are still to be seen on the doors of several XVIth and XVIIth century buildings in Istanbul.¹³ No. 12 pictures a disc that came from a wall cabinet in the same room of this *konāk* and No. 11 one from a drawer in this cabinet. Upon examining each of these illustrations it will be noted that the pattern is based upon overlapping circles.¹⁴ It will further be noted that by

bronze decorations built into the structures erected by each of these architects. The unique exception at Istanbul is the bronze doors to the parvis of the mosque of Sultān Aḥmed III.

¹¹ Pieces similar to those shown in Fig. 2 can be seen at the following places: No. 1: Sultān Aḥmed türbe, door; *Djevād Pāshā* mosque, each door (dated 1002 A.H.); Bāyazīd 'imāret, door; Kilič 'Alī mosque, principal door; Gate to türbe gardens at Ayā Şofia (law courts side). No. 3: Sokollu Mehmed Pāshā mosque, windows; İbrāhīm Pāshā türbe (*Shāhzādē*), doors and windows. No. 4: Piyāle Pāshā mosque, doors; House at 53 Ramaḍan Efendi Sokaghī, doors; Mīrakhōr mosque, central door; Old Saray Harem, door to courtyard, built during the reign of Sultān Suleimān II; Mīrakhōr Česhmesī sokaghī, house door (*Üsküdar*); Amīn Sultān Djāmi' (Bursa), east door to court. No. 6: türbe of Roxelane (Suleimāniye), door; türbe of Rustem Pāshā (*Shāhzādē*), door (dated 967 A.H.). No. 9: Baghdad Köshk, cabinet doors. No. 11: Dīvān Room Old Saray, doors and windows; Baghdad Köshk, windows. No. 12: Mehmed türbe (*Shāhzādē*), door; Roxelane türbe, door (dated 1025 A.H.); Zeyneb Sultān, window-doors (now in Činili Köshk museum); Kilič 'Alī mosque, secondary doors (minaret stairs, etc.); Kilič 'Alī mosque, window decorations; Kilič 'Alī türbe, door decorations; Djem Sultān türbe (Bursa) door decorations. No. 13: Findikli mosque, door to minaret; *Shāhzādē* mosque, north door; Mihrimāh mosque doors; Baghdad Köshk Saray, doors. No. 14: Fatih, main door

of mosque (the disc is slightly larger than the illustration and is designed so as to bring into greater prominence the basic star within the circle. The outer edge is jagged, similar to that illustrated in Fig. 3, no. 9); Selīm, principal door of mosque; Sokollu Mehmed Pāshā mosque, principal door; Khadiḍje Sultān türbe (*Shāhzādē*), doors. This list is by no means inclusive.

¹² One need only walk the length of *Ḳalender-Khāne Djāddēsī* in the Ayūb quarter of Istanbul to see a dozen different types of discs on street doors. Most of these discs are older than the doors that they decorate. Presumably they were picked up from the crumbling ruins of the ecclesiastical buildings in that quarter and used on new buildings. The houses in 'Tbādet-Khāne Arkāsī Sokaghī, behind Kilise Djāmi', are likewise adorned with door furnishings that probably belong to older houses once standing along the same street. The discovery of a known and dated design in some unexpected place obviously does not necessarily date the door upon which it is found.

¹³ There are several discs of this type still decorating the doors of the Mihrimāh mosque in Istanbul (built in 1540 A.D.) and the *Shāhzādē* mosque (built in 1548 A.D.). Cf. also the doors of the Baghdad Köshk (built in 1639 A.D.) in the Old Saray and those of the Köprülü Yālī (built in 1697 A.D.) near Anāadolu Hışār.

¹⁴ The pattern of every perforated disc is based upon overlapping circles. Occasionally, however, the pattern appears to be based upon a star. This is because the full circle pattern is not utilized in discs of this type.

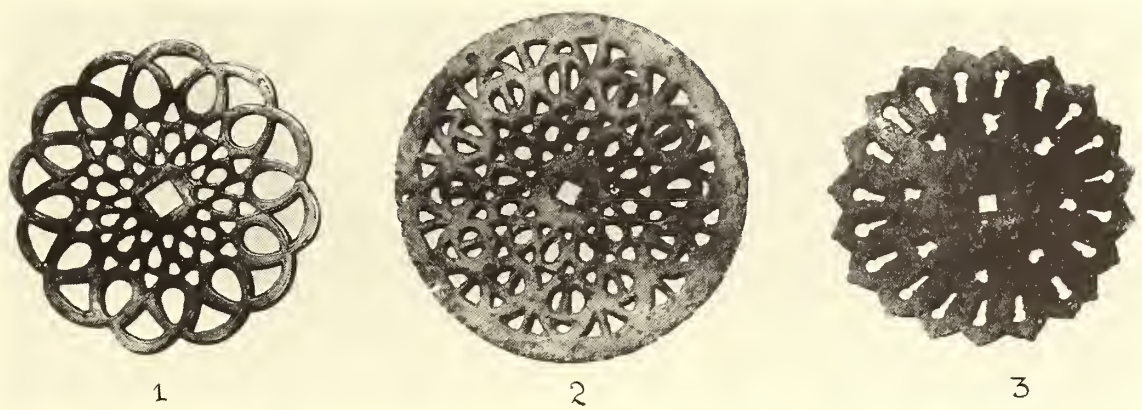


FIG. 1—DOOR DISCS, TURKEY XVI-XVIII CENTURIES

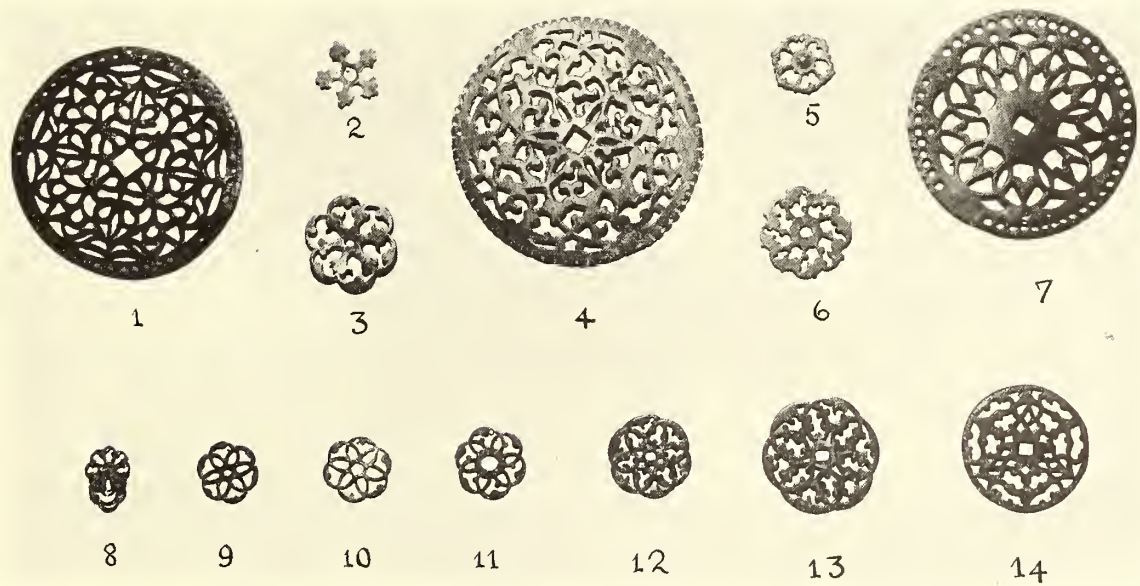


FIG. 2—DOOR DISCS, TURKEY XVI-XVII CENTURIES

ISTANBUL, B. Y. BERRY COLLECTION

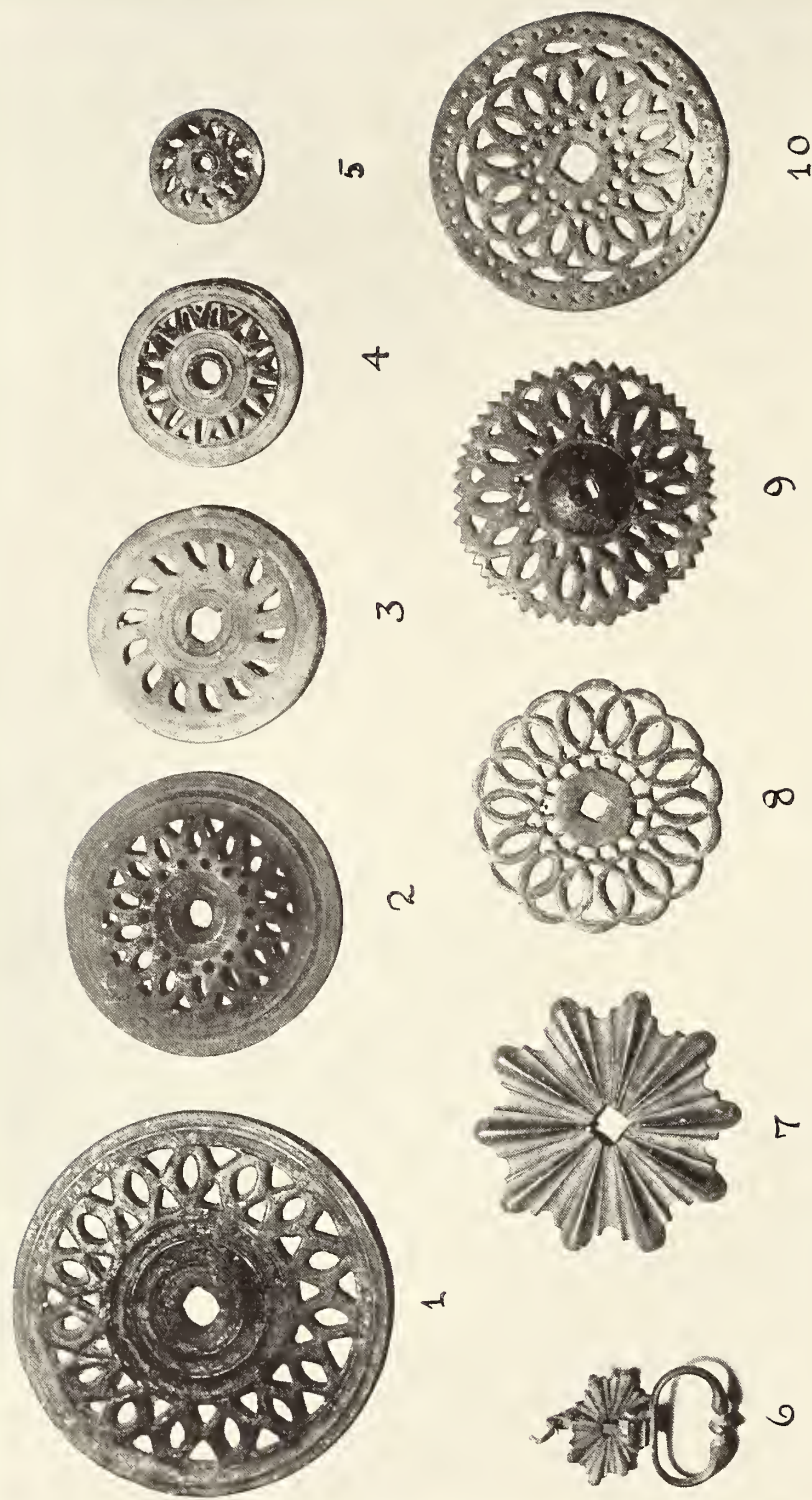


FIG. 3—DOOR DISCS, TURKEY XVIII-XIX CENTURIES
ISTANBUL, B. Y. BERRY COLLECTION

using the simple expedient of adding notches at certain points on the circumference line of each circle the pattern takes on quite a different appearance. Thus, by increasing the number of notches and decreasing the size of the circles, the original pattern appears to increase in intricacy to a point where it becomes quite a different pattern.

From about 1790 the spirit of reform, which was beginning to change so much in Turkey, influenced the architects to change radically the designs and decoration of metal door furnishings. These new designs, a number of which are illustrated in Fig. 3, are usually executed in brass.¹⁵ Brass is shiny without plating with gold and the heavier designs with larger perforations require no leather mounting in order to bring into relief the patterns. All of the discs that I have observed in buildings constructed after 1800 in the Istanbul region are similar in design to those illustrated in Fig. 3.¹⁶

This can be proven by extending the sides of the star and then it will be seen that the sides when extended form arcs of large circles.

¹⁵ Discs similar to those illustrated in Fig. 3 can be seen at the following places: No. 1: Fatih mosque, south door (probably added during the restoration after the earthquake of 1766); Kodja Muṣṭafā Pāshā mosque, door to passage from Kodja Muṣṭafā Pāshā Djāddēsī; House at 6 Mekteb sokaghī, Istanbul, door; House known as *Khadīdje konāk* (Üsküdar), door; Wālidē 'Aṭik mosque, doors; Suleimāniye mosque, center door to outer court (added after an XVIIIth century restoration); House at 97 Shemsī Pāshā Djāddēsī (Üsküdar). No. 2: Fatih Library, street door to court; Dā'ūd Pāshā medresse door (dating from the repairs made in the XVIIIth century); Beshiktāsh, door to cemetery; Bāyazid mosque, side doors and door to XIXth century stairway of walled court; Azaplar mosque, door; Ramadān Efendi mosque, courtyard door. No. 3: Gülbekār Sulṭān türbe (Fatih), door (added when türbe was rebuilt after the earthquake of 1766); Maḥmūd Pāshā türbe, door (repaired in 1827); Ramadān Efendi, mosque door (repaired in XIXth century); House at 1 Wefā Djāddēsī, door. No. 4: Dā'ūd Pāshā, XIXth century side doors to mosque; Piyālē Pāshā, door to türbe. No. 5: Ortākōy mosque, doors to minarets. No. 7: Topkhāne mosque, doors (but more flattened than in illustration); Amīn Sulṭān mosque (Bursa), central

door to mosque. No. 8: Dā'ūd Pāshā, main door to mosque. No. 9: House at 189 Kodja Muṣṭafā Pāshā Djāddēsī, doors. No. 10: Selīm mosque, west door to courtyard; Piyālē Pāshā, door to house in courtyard. The above is a selected list. Please note that the XVIth and XVIIth century buildings that were repaired in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries were repaired with the door furnishings of the time of reparation. At this time the use of a disc without perforations was revived. The new model has bulging centers. Such were used in the XVIIIth century restoration of Ayūb mosque. The mosque of Nūri 'Oṭhmāniye is equipped throughout with this type of discs.

¹⁶ The use of door discs and rings decreased gradually during the XIXth century to the point where Turkish houses built after 1890 were seldom equipped with them. Knockers and brass knobs similar to those in use throughout Europe almost entirely replaced discs and rings upon buildings put up after 1890. Those buildings, however, which were equipped in the Turkish style used models of discs such as those that became current after 1800. This situation continued until very recently when the use of discs and rings was revived by some of the architects employed by the Turkish republic. New patterns have been designed by them and made up for use upon the doors of many public edifices constructed recently in Turkey.

TWO METAL WORKS OF THE MAMLŪK PERIOD

BY PETER RUTHVEN

THERE ARE TWO PIECES OF ENGRAVED METAL WORK WHICH HAVE NEVER BEEN THE SUBJECT of publication contained in the collections of the Činili Köshk Müzesi of Istanbul. There is no record of the length of time they have been in the possession of the Museum. They are of interest in that both are definitely representative examples of Egyptian copper work of the Mamlūk period. The two pieces are in an excellent state of preservation, and, although their history is unknown, one may presume that they were brought to Istanbul after the conquest of Cairo by Sultān Selīm I in 1517.

The workmanship and design are characteristic of objects of the same period which may be found in various museums and collections. The artists' ability is shown by the recognition of the limiting conditions of metal as a medium and their adaptation of the formal symmetrical system of ornamentation to the shape of the objects. While the pieces are not as colorful as most contemporary inlaid metal work, they are not unworthy of the tradition which formed them. In both pieces the treatment of pattern is vigorous, it does not more than intimate the tendency to reduce decoration to a stereotyped system.

Fig. 1 shows a scalloped edge plate (inventory no. 24) with bands dividing the area of decoration roughly into three registers. The center consists of a coat of arms surrounded by a band of inscription. Two borders, formed by plain bands intertwined to make circular medallions and narrow panels filled with leaf scrolls, inclose the chief decorative motif—a wide band of floral units of unrolling tendrils elaborately displayed. A border of darts finishes the edge of the plate bottom. The compartment of the curved wall is held between two narrow bands of woven work. It is divided into eight panels by circular medallions of geometric pattern alternating with crests similar to the one in the center. Four of the panels contain inscriptions, and four are composed of fine arabesque designs of tendrils. This scheme of ornamentation is repeated in the narrow outer band of the rim with eight medallions holding coats of arms. The inscriptions are in *naskhī* script—that of the wide border contains a dedication to Barsbāy al-Muḥammedī the Mamlūk Sultān who reigned from A.D. 1422–1438. Two mirrors executed for this Sultān are known, one is in the Museum of Smyrna¹ and the other in the collection of Mr. R. Harari.² The Činili Köshk piece is the only known copper plate bearing his name. The plate has a delicate linear quality which is reminiscent of the best Mamlūk tradition. The elegance of the style combined with the workmanship makes it an excellent example of fifteenth century metal work.

The Musée Arabe has a plate attributed to the sixteenth century dedicated to the Amīr

¹ R. M. Riefstahl, "Turkish Architecture in South-western Anatolia," *Art Studies*, 1931, p. 212, fig. 228.

² Cf. G. Wiet, *Catalogue Général du Musée Arabe du*

Caire, Objects en Cuivre, Le Caire, 1932, p. 227, no. 309.



FIG. 1—COPPER PLATE, EGYPT XV CENTURY, ISTANBUL, ÇINILI KÖŞK MÜZESİ



FIG. 2—COPPER CANTEEN, EGYPT XVI CENTURY, ISTANBUL, ÇINILI KÖŞK MÜZESİ

Khushkeldī³ who is not identified. It is similar in type, employing the same decorative features. It is not as elaborate in design since it does not possess several of the intertwined edge borders nor many of the intricate details such, for example, as the substitution of an unbroken line of leaf scroll for the more complex band of crest and panels of our piece. From the similarity in design and treatment as well as the similarity of workmanship one might suggest that the Cairo plate dedicated to the Amīr Khushkeldī is of the same period as the plate in the Činili Köşhk Müzesi.

A canteen (inventory no. 4475) of elliptical shape with vertical sides is shown in Fig. 2. It is composed of two sections and a cover which continues the line of the side a short distance vertically and breaks it with a deeply incurved shoulder. The upper border of it is turned over to form the decorative outer circle of the flat top. The cover is surmounted with a cup-like handle.

Each section is decorated with a wide central band, occupying approximately one-half the width of the zone, which is flanked by two narrow bands of equal width. All of the bands have intertwined borders forming circular medallions. These divide the decorated area into panels. The medallions of the secondary bands display a simple conventionalized rosette which relieves the aridity of the panelled woven work pattern. The medallions of the three central bands, which are disposed midway between the sections formed by the medallions of the narrow bands, are ornamented by geometric design alternating with a coat of arms inclosed in a thin circle of scrollwork. The side panels of the central band of each section are filled with a complicated stylized arabesque of intertwining tendrils, but the front panels bear an inscription which, from the photographs, appears to be anonymous.

The coat of arms is similar to number 88, inversed, in Artin Pasha's *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient*⁴ which appears on five pieces of engraved metal in the Musée Arabe: on a plate with an inscription to the Amīr Ylbāy (1474), in the central medallion of an elaborate plate bearing the name of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Kānṣūh al-Ghūrī (1516), on a plate with the name of the Amīr Khushkeldī (probably fifteenth century), and in the medallion of a decorative band which surrounds the sides of a basin with the name of the Amīr Kaşruwah (sixteenth century).⁵

Stylistically the Činili Köşhk piece has a marked similarity to the triple compartment canteen inscribed with the name of the Amīr Timur⁶ in the Musée Arabe attributed to the sixteenth century. The arrangement of mass and detail in order to secure the balance of design is alike. Both artists employ similar decorative features in the panels, in the borders of woven work, and in the large circular medallions of geometric pattern. The Cairo canteen lacks a coat of arms and has an unrelated floral scroll around the edge of the cover. A single unit canteen of the sixteenth century, again found in the Musée Arabe,⁷ bears a like arrange-

³ G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 138, pl. LV.

⁴ London, 1902.

⁵ G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 116, 122, 135, 138, pls.

XLV, LI, LV, LVI, LVII-VIII.

⁶ G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 98, pl. LXVI, no. 3953.

⁷ G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 86, pl. LXIX, no. 3368.

ment of the elements of decoration although it resembles the canteen with the inscription to the Amīr Timur in the lack of variety in the decoration of the medallions, all of which are filled with a geometric pattern.

A comparison of the decorative style and execution of the Činili Köshk canteen with well-known examples of metal work of the sixteenth century in Egypt indicates its definite relationship to the work of the Mamlūk period. The piece was probably made before 1517.

The collection of metal works in the Činili Köshk Müzesi contains several other pieces comparable in their artistic quality to the two examples briefly discussed here. Descriptions of these pieces will be anticipated with interest as a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Egyptian Mamlūk metal works.

THE MOSAICS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK AT JERUSALEM

BY ERNST DIEZ

AS AN INDEPENDENT PART OF MR. K. A. C. CRESWELL'S GIANT PUBLICATION ON *Early Muslim Architecture*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1932), Mlle. Marguerite van Berchem, who ten years ago became known by her most useful book *Mosaïques chrétiennes* (Geneva, 1924), has written a special study on the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the most sacred building of the Muḥammadans in Palestine, the inscriptions of which were published by her late father, Max van Berchem in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, II, *Syrie du Sud, Jerusalem*, II.

Till now the problem as to the participation of Syria in the development of mosaic decoration was unsettled. As in Constantinople nothing is preserved from the periods of the emperors Constantine, Justinian and Justin II, but as in the Byzantine residence various authors are reporting on the splendour of the mosaic walls in former Syrian churches. The reports begin with Constantine's Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem and include the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the churches of Antioch, Gaza and Lydda and the Mesopotamian churches in Urfa, Ruṣāfa and the Ṭūr 'Abdīn. The spreading, however, of this most marvellous and costly technique of wall decoration over all Syria, on the other hand, was checked by the natural aversion of stone walls to any revetment. This aversion of the indigenous building material led to the generally accepted theory that mosaics were introduced into Syria from Constantinople and mostly applied by Byzantine workmen. It is this problem that first of all interested Mlle. van Berchem, who, however, comes to the conclusion that in Syria local schools of mosaicists must have existed, though, as to the early Byzantine period we shall probably never be able to establish certainty.

This belief in Constantinople as the center of the art of mosaics also led to the assumption that the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock which were executed by the Khalifs 'Abd al-Malik and Walid are Byzantine work. The author, after having quoted all available sources on the subject down to the XVIth century, comes to the result that, though no positive conclusion can be drawn in this case either, it is not likely that the political conditions under the reign of 'Abd al-Malik and Walid were scarcely favourable to friendly exchanges between the courts of Byzance and Damascus and that the splendid and unique mosaic decoration of the *Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra* for the greater part is the work of a local school of artists, probably of Syro-Christian mosaicists. "The ancient Greco-Syrian schools of Antioch, Damascus and Jerusalem must have been sufficiently important as to be able to furnish the Arabs with workmen, acquainted with the old tradition."

In discussing the texts Mlle. van Berchem points to the wrong translations and resulting misunderstandings as to the engagement of Byzantine workmen for this and other Islamic buildings. As an outstanding example of the lack of authenticity of these oriental sources we

refer to the palace in Ctesiphon, for which the Emperor Justinian was said to have sent Byzantine architects and precious material, though this pure Mesopotamian building had been constructed about three hundred years before the reign of Justinian.

As generally in History of Art also in this case the only course that can lead to a satisfactory result is a methodic analysis of style. Mlle. van Berchem took this course, and in her chapters on the "Composition," the "Decorative Motives" and the "Technique" she makes an investigation of the immanent questions and problems, that proves most circumspect and accurate, as far as description and comparison are concerned. Indispensable as this old and approved method of investigation is, it is no longer sufficient to lead to the results that the progressive art analysis of today is aiming at. Any up to date investigation of such matter ought to elucidate the stylistic laws to which the respective works of art are subjugated. And for this object somewhat sharper tools of investigation are needed. For the mere description of the floral elements and features and their comparison with others, the "purely arbitrary" categorisation of "Naturalistic Motives," "Composite Motives," "Conventionalized Ornaments" and "Borders" may be accepted, as their vague significance is elucidated by the accompanying magnificent drawings.

However, for the investigation of the main problem, the genesis of the Islamic ornament, they are insufficient. For this purpose the categories established by L. Coellen (*Der Stil in der bildenden Kunst*, Darmstadt, 1921) are the only ones that can lead to positive decisive results. An explanation of them, as well as an attempt to analyse Islamic Art on their basis, will be given in one of the coming numbers of this periodical. For the present case, i.e. the clear distinction of the still remaining antique treatment of ornament and the new Oriental-Byzantine-Islamic one, the explanation of two main stylistic qualities of Coellen will be sufficient, the distinction of the organizistic and the cubistic style. Organizistic is the classic Greek art, cubistic the Byzantine, Islamic, Romanesque and Gothic Art. This fundamental distinction includes the whole art production of the respective periods, architecture, sculpture, painting and ornament. The transition from one extreme to the other was effected by Imperial Roman and Old Christian art. The significance of the notion "organizism" needs no further explanation, whereas "cubism" also can be characterized as an inorganic, mechanic addition, filling or heaping of more or less elementary features. In our case such elements are parts of plants or scrolls. Real organizism is no longer to be found since the second century A.D. Hence the qualification "naturalistic" ought no more to be used. There is only the question of a more or less consequently developed cubism. The most concrete problem, however, for the mosaics of the *Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra* is, whether at all, and if so how much of the specific Islamic development of the ornament is to be stated. The almost exhaustive collection of drawings from the mosaics offered in the book illustrates the joining of the two traditional organizations of plant ornament, the organizistic Roman and the cubistic "Persian" ones. The gradual "stylisation," as this process was called hitherto, or cubisation as we call it, can be perceived by starting from the Ara Pacis, passing the Ravennatic mosaics and arriving at the Palestinian ones. As to the "Persian wing" that we meet here, Mlle. van Berchem fol-

lowing E. Herzfeld once more rejects the old assumption that it indicates Persian influence, because it was used by some Sasanian Kings as a helmet crest. The motive reaches far back and was adopted by Hellenistic art from which it was taken by the Persians. Yet such statements are of second importance. The peculiar development towards the Islamic cubism is well displayed by the group "Composite Motives." Vertical filling of isolated elements and geometric translations of flower motives, rhythmical ornamental fillings of isolated leaves and inorganic compositions of leaf chalices supply the ornamental decoration. The fact that this process, at about 700 A.D. or better in the first century of the Hegira, is in full swing proves the great creative power of the new Islamic world-aspect as well as it explains the miraculously fast ripening of this ornamental expression of Islam, which surprises us when we face the stucco walls of Sāmarrā of the second century A.H. The force of this movement has been a very dynamic one indeed, almost as fanatic as the Muḥammadan fire that swept over the Oriental world within some decades. Perceived from this viewpoint the mosaic decoration of the Dome of the Rock, abstract and mysterious as it looks, is a very history of this movement, written with the secret letters of ornamental features. As the process still is in fermentation and not yet at its culmination as in Sāmarrā, this ornamental store also is a very grammar of the ornamental language of Islamic art, worthy of being analyzed closely, as Mlle. van Berchem has done.

In her discussion on the present state of the mosaics and the different processes of restoration the author convincingly settles the question of the date of the mosaics in the drum, which hitherto generally were taken as later, as being contemporary with the others. The very different types of plant ornaments which one finds in the various regions of this vast mosaic area can only be explained as belonging to different schools, either Syrian or foreign ones. A comparison with the mosaics of other places, as at Rome or Ravenna, excludes the second eventuality and the conclusion can be drawn (p. 227) "that at the time of the Arab Conquest a powerful school of art existed in Syria, the ramifications of which are still very imperfectly known to us. This school had its own distinctive character, and it developed and evolved independently of Byzantium, a fact which it is important to bear in mind."

It was the uncovering of the mosaics in the Great Mosque of Damascus which added further to our puzzling at the rich variety of decorative subjects in Syria. Dating from the period of the Khalif Walīd, i.e. from about 715 A.D., they are only half a generation later than the former set. In her analysis of them, which Mlle. van Berchem added as a second part to her primary work, though recognizing a certain difference from their Hellenistic forerunners, like Monsieur E. de Lorey, who dedicated to them another article in this periodical (Vol. I, Part 1), she did not recognize the fundamental change of composition that meanwhile had set forth and had put them in an entirely different category of style. Such change was to be expected *a priori* after a lapse of about eight hundred years, most fateful for mankind. Such rather primary distinctions, however, could not be recognized or explained without knowledge of Coellen's categorisations (L. Coellen, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 and 129 ff.). Since the period of the Boscoreale paintings, which to the superficial beholder look surpris-

ingly similar, the world-aspect had changed from an objective to a polar one and the arts followed this change. The dynamic organism of Hellenistic art had changed into a static cubism at the ornamental level of style. A close comparison of Boscoreale with Damascus indicates this difference of style. In Boscoreale (Figs. 305 and 306), as in all Hellenistic paintings, the single objects, here piled upon each other are the carriers of a general spatial colouristic chiaroscuro, but there is no light-space sphere prepared around them. In the Damascus mosaics, on the contrary, the objects are posted into a light-space sphere, which is the condition of the polar composition. It is true that the Hellenistic picture also displays a natural treatment of the light. The partition of light and shade is not quite arbitrary but follows the natural condition, as is to be expected in an organismic style. Originally, however, the partition of the masses of light and shade depends on the single objects and their groups. This is no longer the case at Damascus (Pl. 44, cf. also *Ars Islamica*, vol. I. Figs. 2-25). The light area, as the given general space, is here visualised and constituted by an ornamental rhythmic change of light and shade which more or less is independent of the local light and shade conditions of the single object. Accordingly, also, the objects are disposed of all over the surface of the picture in a fundamentally different way than before. As they had not any longer the function of constituting the general space by an organically founded composition, but only had to visualise the light-space area, they are no longer organically bound and fulfill their function by a symmetric, rhythmic, ornamental arrangement of the single objects. The Baradā panel on Pl. 44 is a most satisfactory example of this style.

This criticism, which seemed to me needed, however does not in the least intend to diminish the merits of the author. Neither M. de Lorey nor Mlle. van Berchem can be expected to know a book like Coellen's *Analysis of Style* which even in Germany is little known, though its time will doubtless come. Without being acquainted with Coellen's categorisation, however, no satisfactory up to date analysis now possible. Mlle. van Berchem did excellent work according to the good old archaeological method, which will always remain an indispensable prerequisite for any research in the History of Art.

I. GENERAL

1. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1932*. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India and with the support of the Imperial Government of India, by the Kern Institute, Leyden. Editorial Board: J. Ph. VOGEL, Ph.D., N. J. KROM, Ph.D., J. H. KRAMERS, LL.D., C. L. FABR, Ph.D., W. Perceval YETTS, Hermann GOETZ, Ph.D. Volume VIII. Leyden, 1934. XI and 178 pages, 7 text-figures and 10 plates.

Like the previously published volumes this is also a work of great importance, for which the Kern Institute in Leyden deserves a warm congratulation. Among 752 listed titles the students of Islamic art will find many systematically classified contributions on Islamic-Indian art, history, epigraphy etc. The first part of the last chapter (VI) is devoted to Iran, Mesopotamia, Turan, Tibet and Afghanistan.

2. MAYER, Leo A.: — *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey*. Oxford, 1933. XVI and 302 pages, 71 plates.

Reviewed: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution. Volume I, 1934, pp. 426-429.

This publication is an invaluable contribution to the study of Islamic art and an indispensable book for all students of the subject. The material is treated thoroughly.

3. TERASSE, Henri: — *L'Art Hispano-Mauresque des origines au XIII^e siècle*. Publication de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines. Volume XXV. Paris, 1933, XVI and 494 pages, 80 plates and numerous plans and figures in text.

Reviewed: *Connoisseur*, 92, September 1933, pp. 185-186; *The Burlington Magazine*, 63, September 1933, p. 139.

4. HALIL EDHEM: — *Islâmi Nümismatik için bir bibliografi tecrübesi*. (Essai d'une Bibliographie pour la Numismatique musulmane). Ankara, 1933. 64 pages, 10 figures (In Turkish).

Dr. Halil Edhem Bey, Director Emeritus of the National Turkish Museum in Istanbul and the author of numerous books and papers on Islamic art, numismatics and epigraphy offers in this publication a useful handbook. A brief introduction is devoted to the history of numismatical research in Turkey and Europe. The following two chapters contain the list of publications in Turkish and Western languages. There are listed 508 titles.

5. KÜHNEL, Ernst: — *Die Ausgrabungen der Zweiten Ktesiphon - Expedition*, (Winter 1931/32). Vorläufiger Bericht. Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Berlin, 1933. IV and 35 pages, 59 illustrations and 1 map.

The results of the excavations at Ctesiphon are of importance not only for the Sasanian period but also for the early development of Islamic art. The first expedition was organized in 1928/29 by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, a preliminary report of which was published by Professor Dr. O. Reuther in 1930 (*Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon - Expedition im Winter 1928/29*). The second season was a joint undertaking of the Islamic Department of the State Museums in Berlin and the Metro-

politan Museum of Art, New York, under the direction of Professor Dr. Ernst KÜHNEL. Among the rich finds of interest are the stucco decoration and fragments of fresco paintings from unearthed buildings. The few remains of wall painting indicate a definite stylistic relation to the frescoes of IXth century discovered in Sāmarrā and prove the suggestion of Professor Dr. Ernst HERZFELD (*Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, p. 105), that the 'Abāssid fresco painting is based on Sasanian tradition.

The report contains an English summary by Dr. M. S. Dimand.

6. *Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi Rehberi* (Guide to the Topkapu Palace Museum). Published by Istanbul Asariatika Müzeleri, Istanbul, 1933. IV and 197 pages, 48 illustrations and 1 plan. (Third edition, in Turkish).

A detailed description of the palace and its art treasures. Among the illustrations of interest are the reproductions of 5 miniatures from the famous MS. of *Hüner-Nāme*, 1579-1584, representing court scenes.

7. ETTINGHAUSEN, Richard: — Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba im Islamischen Kulturkreis. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. 12, Heft 3/4, 1934, pp. 112-137, 12 illustrations.

The article deals with the representation of Ka'ba on art objects. The material is arranged: A.—Topographical representation; B.—Illustrative (malerische) representation, and C.—Symbolic representation of Ka'ba.

8. JAYNE, Horace H. F.: — Joint Expedition to Damghan.

Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology. 5, June 1933, pp. 3-7, 6 illustrations.

A brief report on the excavations in Damghān, Persia, conducted by the Pennsylvania University Museum of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology, New York. The main aim, as the report says, was the location of the Parthian capital Hecatompylos, which "remained elucidated."

"However if the expedition failed to find the site of Hecatompylos, its successes in other respects were of unexpected importance." Beside very important prehistoric mounds of Tepe Hissar, Dr. E. F. Schmidt, the field director of the excavation, unearthed a sizable Sasanian palace with an extraordinarily rich store of stucco decorative details." A by-product of the expedition's works was the study of an interesting mosque building of Tari(kh) Khane in the citadel of Damghān which is presumably a structure of the first centuries of Islam in Persia.

9. JAYNE, Horace H. F.: — The Art of Persia. *The Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*. 28, 153, February 1933, pp. 49-51, 2 illustrations.

This short discussion of the exhibition "Persian Art and its Influences" held at the Pennsylvania Museum points out its first purpose to be that of showing the importance of Persian art in itself and secondly of the debt of Western art to Persian inspiration.

10. HERZFELD, Ernst: — Die Könige der Erde. *Der Islam*, 21, 1933, pp. 233-236.

The author repeats his suggestion that

- the well known fresco panel of Kusair 'Amra representing the "Kings of the Earth" is iconographically Iranian and that "der Entwurf des Bildes wurzelt in Grundsätzen, die schon achamenidisch sind."
11. KÜHNEL, Ernst: — Die Islamische Abteilung in ihren neuen Räumen.
Berliner Museen, 54, 1, 1933, pp. 1-5.
 12. SARRE, Friedrich: — Die Islamische Kunst-abteilung in Berlin.
Kunst und Künstler, 32, 1933, pp. 43-51, illustrations.
 13. TURKEL-DERI, Flora: — Berlin's Islamic Collections now Finely Displayed.
Art News, 31, 18, January 1933, pp. 3 and 12.
 14. SOLOMON, W. E. G.: — *Essays on Moghul Art*. Oxford, 1933.
Reviewed: *Connoisseur*, 93, October 1933, p. 261.
 15. — — — New Expedition to Persia.
Pennsylvania University Museum Bulletin, 4, October 1933, pp. 140-142, illustrations.
 16. — — — Ray Expedition.
Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 31, October 1933, p. 81. (Same *Art News*, 32, October 14, 1933, p. 11).
About the Boston-Philadelphia Expedition.
 17. — — — American to Unearth Site of Old Rhages.
Art Digest, 8, October 15, 1933, p. 18, 1 illustration.
About the Boston-Philadelphia Expedition.
 18. HAUSER, W.: — New Expedition.
Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum of Art, 28, November 1933, supp., pp. 39-44, illustrations.
 19. — — — Opening of the Exhibition of Photographs of Persian Architecture Taken by Dr. A. U. Pope.
Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 40, February 1933, p. 279.
 20. — — — Art of Islam.
Art Digest, 7, September 1933, p. 20.
In connection with the Exhibition in Brooklyn Museum, New York.
 21. — — — Egyptian Government Sponsors Mediaeval Islamic Research.
Art News, 31, January 1933, p. 9.
 22. GQDARD, A.: — Le Nouveau Musée de Téhéran.
Beaux-Arts, Mars 23, 1934, p. 2.
 23. SAKISIAN, Arménag Bey: — Karagheuz. Conférence faite aux Amis de l'Orient le 14 Mai 1933.
Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient, 14/15, Paris, 1933, pp. 51-75, 16 figures.
 24. MARTINOVITCH, Nicolas N.: — *The Turkish Theatre*. New York, 1933, 125 pages, illustrations.
The author, a former Professor in the University of Petrograd, Russia, treats his subject with the aim "to give the cultured laymen a trustworthy book written in popular form by a specialist." In the first chapter devoted to the history of the Turkish Theatre he discusses also the problem of the pictorial art in Islam and asserts: "Nevertheless, Islamic paint-

ing flourished. We have copies of the Koran illuminated with human faces" (p. 36).

25. RUDOLF-HILL, G.: — Mohammedanische Kulturwelt in Südbulgarien. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 9, Januar 1933, pp. 60-61.
26. FARAJOLLAH BAZL: — Artistic Research in Abiana.

Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, 6, June 1934, pp. 5-9.

27. ETTINGHAUSEN, Richard: — Early Shadow Figures. *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, 6, June 1934, pp. 10-15. 7 illustrations.

II. ARCHITECTURE

28. GABRIEL, Albert: — *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie*. Tome I. Kayseri — Nigde; Tome II. Amasya — Tokat — Sivas. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices du ministère Turc de l'instruction publique. Paris 1931/34. Tome I. VII and 170 pages, 103 text-figures and 55 plates; Tome II. III and 204 pages, 120 text-figures and 79 plates.

The author, Correspondent de l'Institut and Directeur de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul, offers in these two volumes an exhaustive and needed study on Turkish-Islamic architecture of Anatolia, which is an indispensable work for all students of the subject. A thorough investigation of historical sources and the numerous plans, designs, maps and excellent reproductions, supplemented with beautifully drawn restitutions of the architectural monuments represent a high scholarship for which the author should be congratulated.

29. LAMBERT, Elie: — L'Art mudéjar. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 9, Janvier 1933, pp. 17-33, 18 illustrations.
- Mudéjar art is defined and the author

explains the artistic and economic reasons for its acceptance in all parts of Spain. He then traces the development from its beginning to the Renaissance by describing its various forms in specific architectural monuments of Castille, Aragon, and Andalusia.

30. HALIL EDHEM: — *Nos Mosquées de Stamboul*. Traduction de E. MAMBOURY. Istanbul, 1934, 147 pages, 131 illustrations and 1 map.

The character of the book is defined by the learned author as follows: "Cette petite brochure que nous publions aujourd'hui n'a pas une prétention scientifique. Notre but n'est autre que de montrer, sous form d'album, quelques unes des petites et des grandes mosquées de Stamboul, en images, accompagnées d'une courte description et de quelques données historiques." Nevertheless the book contains much important information for the student of Islamic art.

31. KÜHNEL, Ernst: — *Mschatta*. Bilderhefte der Islamischen Kunstabteilung, Staatliche Museen in Berlin. Heft 2, Berlin, 1933, 16 pages, 33 illustrations.

A brief summary of historical and stylistic problems concerning the famous façade of Mshatta. Among the illustrations of the façade and its details are a fragment of a carved stone arch, a capital, another marble capital of IVth century found in Mshatta and a statue of a lion of the same provenance.

32. INIGUEZ, D. Angelo: — *Arquitectura mudéjar sevillana de los siglos XIII, XIV y XV. Sociedad Española de Excursiones, Boletín*, 40, Decembre 1932, pp. 245-293, 4 plates; 41, March 1933, pp. 1-35, 8 plates.
33. HÖGG, Hans: — *Türkenburgen an Bosphorus und Hellespont. Ein Bild frühosmanischen Wehrbaus bis zum Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Dresden, 1932, 46 pages, 72 illustrations.
Reviewed: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 37, 5, Mai 1934, p. 322.
34. HAUTECOEUR, Louis et WEIT, Gaston: — *Les Mosquées du Caire*. Paris, 1933, Deux volumes: Tome I. — 380 pages and 13 figures; Tome II. — 247 plates and 32 plans.
An indispensable work for the study of Islamic architecture in Egypt.
35. FOCILLON, H.: — *Les Mosquées du Caire, à propos d'un livre récent du Louis Hautecœur et Gaston Wiet*. *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, 63, Février 1933, pp. 89-94, illustrations.
36. LAMBERT, E.: — *L'Alhambra de Granade*. (With English Summary). *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, 64, Avril 1933, pp. 145-164, illustrations.
37. CRESWELL, K. A. C.: — *La Mosquée du 'Amru*. Translated from the English by Mrs. R. L. Devonshire.
Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale pp. 121-166, 12 plates.
Reviewed: *The Burlington Magazine*, 63, August 1933, p. 95.
A monograph on the famous mosque in Old Cairo.
38. FRISCH, F. K.: — *Die Umgestaltung des grossen Platzes von Isfahan in Persien*. *Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau*, 18, Mai 1934, pp. 249-250, illustrations.
39. GUARDIA, G. Brunon: — *Ispahan au XVII^e siècle*. *Beaux Arts*, 1, Janvier 6, 1933, p. 2, 2 illustrations.
The writer acknowledges the importance of M. Eugene Beautouin's plan of the palace and gardens at Isfahan.
40. BEHN, Friedrich: — *Die Torhalle von Lorsch*. *Forschungen und Forschritte*, 9, 30, 20 Oktober 1933, pp. 433-435, 3 illustrations.
The paper deals with the famous Carolingian building at Lorsch, which according to the latest investigatory excavations (1927/28) is not an entrance to a sacred building but a Palatinum, Sala Regis. Interesting is its resemblance to a building in Rakka characterized by the author as follows: "Für Lorsch bedeutungsvoll ist das ihm gleichzeitige Stadttor von Raqqa, auf das mich F. Sarre hinweist. . . . Die brettartig flachen Pilaster des Oberteiles werden wie in Lorsch abgeschlossen durch einen Zackenfries. Raqqa war nun im ersten Jahrzehnt des 9 Jhds. Residenz Harun al Raschids. Die nahen Beziehungen des grossen Kalifen zu Karl wirkten sich sicherlich auch im Austausch von mancherlei Kunst- und Kul-

turgedanken aus. Auch in den Malereien aus der karolingischen Königsgruft von 882 überwiegt das orientalische Element in Stilsprache wie im Gegenständlichen. Die Ähnlichkeit der Lorschener Halle mit orientalischen Bauten ist so stark, dass man schwer an bloße Übernahme einer Vorlage glauben und eher an persönliche Mitwirkung eines ins Frankenreich eingewanderten orientalischen Künstlers denken möchte. Haben doch sehr viel später Fürsten ihre Künstler ausgetauscht."

41. POPE, A. U.: — Recently Discovered Persian Architecture.
Apollo, 17, March 1933, pp. 87-90, illustrations.
42. BRIGGS, Martin S.: — Gothic Architecture and Persian Origins.
The Burlington Magazine, 62, 361, April 1933, pp. 183-189, 4 illustrations.
The author discusses the theory of Mr. A. U. Pope on the origins of the Gothic arch and vault giving some conflicting evidence regarding European monuments found in Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture* and *Moslem Architecture* by Rivoira.
43. POPE, A. U.: — Gothic Architecture and Persian Origins. (Letter).
The Burlington Magazine, 62, 363, June 1933, pp. 293-294, 2 illustrations.
This letter corrects some of the statements in the article by Mr. Briggs and

refers, for further proof of the author's theory on the origins of the pointed arch, to the Bronze Salver in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

44. POPE, A. U.: — A Sasanian Garden Palace.
The Art Bulletin, 15, 1, March 1933, pp. 75-85, 4 illustrations.
The description of a Sasanian Garden Palace, perhaps that of Chosroes II which is represented on a Bronze Salver in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is given here. A considerable portion of the discussion concerns the definition and origin of the pointed arch and vault.
45. STUBBS-WISNER, Bruton: — Persian Brick and Tile Architecture.
Art and Archaeology, 34, 2, March-April 1933, pp. 99-102, 5 illustrations.
The author quotes A. U. Pope and Sir Edward Lutyens regarding the importance of the structural value in Persian brick architecture and the beauty of unadorned brick work.
46. CASSON, S.: — Persian Architecture and the West.
Architectural Revue, 73, January 1933, pp. 237-240, 2 plates.
47. — — — Persian Mosque.
Bulletin, Beaux Arts, Institute of Design, New York, March 1933, pp. 11-12, 4 illustrations.

III. DECORATIVE ARTS

48. BINYON, Laurence, WILKINSON, J. V. S. and GRAY, Basil: — *Persian Miniature Painting*. Including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited

at Burlington House, January-March 1931, London, 1933, XIV and 212 pages, 113 plates.

Reviewed: *The Burlington Magazine*, 63,

November 1933, pp. 235-236.

A publication of far-reaching importance. The subject is treated in a fundamental manner and presents a great amount of hitherto unpublished material so successfully assembled at the International Exhibition of Persian Art held in London 1931. The principle chapters are: I — Persian Miniature Painting before the Mongol invasion, and the Mesopotamian Style; II — The early Persian Style and fourteenth century changes; III — The Tīmūrid School; IV — The later fifteenth century; Behzād and his contemporaries; V — The early Safawī period; VI — Painting under Shāh 'Abbās and his successors. An appendix contains some important historical sources. The thorough critical study of the published material and the excellent reproductions of miniatures make the book a standard work in the field of Islamic miniature painting.

49. FEHMI EDEHME et STCHOUKINE, Ivan: — *Les Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul*, Paris, 1933, 68 pages, 26 plates.

The book is the first volume of the *Memoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul*. It contains detailed descriptions of forty-eight manuscripts belonging for the great part to the XVIth century. The material is divided in four groups: I — Manuscripts of Turkish origin; II — Manuscripts of Persian origin; III — Manuscripts of Egyptian origin; IV — Manuscripts of mixed (Turco-Persian) origin; V — Manuscripts of Indian origin. Among the MSS. originated in Turkey of primary interest is a *Shāhenshāh Nāme* by 'Alā al-Dīn Mansūri Shīrāzī (no. III) dated from

the year 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) and containing 58 illustrations. All of them represent the historical events of the Sultan Murād III's period (1574-1595). In Plates II and III are reproduced miniatures from this manuscript showing the characteristic Turkish court-style, the best representatives of which are the miniatures of the famous *Hüner Nāme* in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi. The list of Persian MSS. includes the Album (no. XXXIV) with miniatures from a *Kalīla wa Dimna* attributed by A. Sakisian (*Le Miniature persanes* etc. pp. 6 ff) to the XIIth century. The authors, as the result of careful examinations are of the opinion that these miniatures are partly repainted and belong to XIVth and XVth centuries. In studying them, however, they did not consider the almost identical miniatures of a Anwār-i Suhaylī MS. in the collection of the Nawab of Rampur, discussed and reproduced by Mr. O. GANGOLY (*Rupam*, Nos. 42-43-44, 1930, pp. 11-14) who attributes them rightly to the middle of the XIVth century. The material published in this book is a welcomed addition to the literature on Islamic painting. Its presentation and classification are well done and the reproductions of the miniatures are exceptionally good.

50. KÜHNEL, Ernst: — *Indische Miniaturen*. Bilderhefte der Islamischen Kunstabteilung. Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Heft 1, Berlin, 1933, 16 pages, 52 illustrations.

Prof. Dr. Ernst Kühnel, Director of the Islamic Department of the State Museums in Berlin, presents with the assistance of Dr. R. ETTINGHAUSEN a brief but very desirable contribution to the study of Indian miniature painting.

Though the booklet is modestly called "Bilderheft" and is primarily planned as a guide for the museum's visitors it presents good reproductions of some fifty miniatures, for the great part unpublished, with an introductory and descriptive text. The miniatures are a part of the 470 paintings and 380 calligraphic works bound in 13 albums belonging formerly to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, now transferred to the Islamic Department. These Albums with 7 others were acquired in 1882 with the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, once under-secretary at the Indian Office. The booklet contains also a list of the principle books on the subject.

51. STCHOUKINE, Ivan: — Un manuscrit du traite d'al-Jazari sur les automates du VII^e siècle de l'Hégire.

Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6, 2, Mars 1934, pp. 134-140, 8 illustrations.

A brief description of an illuminated MS. of the Treatise on Automata by Abu'l-'Izz ibn Ismaïl al-Djazarî dated Sha'ban 602 A.H. (April 1206 A.D.) The MS. belongs to the library of the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul. The author, a member of the Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul, gives also a list of the illustrations and compares them with those of two other known MSS. one dated 756 A.H. (1354 A.D.), and the other from the year 715 A.H. (1315 A.D.). The latter MS. was exhibited for the first time in the Islamic exhibition held in 1930 at the Detroit Institute of Arts (*Catalogue* p. 17, no. 9) and described by the reviewer in *Parnassus* (3, 7, 1931, pp. 27-28). In passing it may be noticed that the author while mentioning this MS. says: "Un

autre exemplaire de ce traité, daté 715 (1315) a été décrit par M. Aga-Oglu comme le plus ancien en existence." As a matter of fact the referred place of the article in *Parnassus* reads: "The manuscript thus can be dated thirty-nine years earlier than that in the Hagia Sophia Library and is today the earliest known copy of this work" (p. 27). M.A.-O.

52. UPTON, J. N.: — A Manuscript of "The Book of the Fixed Stars" by 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sūfī.

Metropolitan Museum Studies, 4, 1933, pp. 179-197, 51 illustrations.

The author, assistant curator of the Near-Eastern Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, publishes the illustrations of a XIVth century Persian MS. on constellations originated probably in Samarkand. All illustrations are described in detail. As the author says "This material represents an interesting phase of Islamic culture, a knowledge of which is invaluable for the full appreciation of Islamic Art."

53. AGA-OGLU, Mehmet: — A Note on the Manuscript of Manāfi' al-Hayawān in the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan.

Parnassus, 5, 3, April 1933, pp. 19-20.

This article was written to correct some facts regarding the Persian Manuscript of Manāfi' al-Hayawān. The author agrees with the date, 690 A.H., set forth by Professor Abraham Yohannan in a previous article, but he adds the place of execution, Marāgha, as well as information on its *Ex-Libris*.

54. RICE, Tamara Talbot: — Splendors of the Persian Book.

- Asia*, November 1933, pp. 563-567, illustrations.
55. DE LOREY, Eustache: — La Peinture Musulmane. L'Ecole de Bagdad.
Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 10, 846, July 1933, pp. 1-13, 17 illustrations.
A stylistic discussion of the 'Abbāsid School of painting, or the School of Baghdād, is given with reference to its paradoxes and traditions stating that in these XIIIth Century miniatures a perfect harmony is obtained by the fusion of decorative and realistic elements. The author cites several MSS. referring especially to the Manuscript of *Harīrī* in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
56. GRAY, B.: — Die Kalīla wa Dimna der Universität Istanbul.
Pantheon, 12, September 1933, pp. 280-283, 4 illustrations.
Discussion of the date of the miniatures from the Ildiz-Album attributed by A. Sakisian to the XIIth century. The writer rightly suggests the XIVth century as the date of their origin.
57. GOETZ, Hermann: — Geschichte der indischen Miniatur-Malerei.
Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 9, 1933, pp. 21-31, 7 illustrations.
58. DIMAND, M. S.: — A Fifteenth Century Persian Painting on Silk.
Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 28, December 1933, p. 213.
59. DIMAND, M. S.: — Persian Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century.
Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29, April 1934, pp. 58-66.
60. EASTMAN, A. C.: — Islamic Miniature Painting.
Parnassus, 5, December 1933, pp. 22-23.
61. STAUDE, Wilhelm: — Contribution à l'étude de Basāwan.
Revue des Arts Asiatiques, 8, 1, pp. 1-19, illustrations.
62. MACLAGAN, Edward D.: — Mogul Painting on Christian Subjects.
The Moslem World, 23, 4, October 1933, pp. 330-332, illustrations.
63. KELLEY, Charles Fabens: — Persian and Indian Miniature Painting.
Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago, 27, 3, March 1933, pp. 46-48, 3 illustrations.
The writer gives in connection with a Loan Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniatures and Calligraphy held in the Art Institute of Chicago from January 20 to May 1, 1933, a short sketch of their historical development. Among the illustrations of interest is a page from *Manāfi' al-Hayawān* from the Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection.
64. DIMAND, M. S.: — *A Guide to an Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, October 9-January 7, 1933/34, IX and 52 pages, 39 illustrations.
An excellent brief survey on Islamic book art in connection with an important exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The chapter on calligraphy and book illumination is written by Joseph M. Upton.
65. DIMAND, M. S.: — Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination.

- Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 28, September 1933, pp. 166-171, illustrations.
66. DE LOREY, Eustache: — Les Miniatures musulmanes exposées au Metropolitan Museum résument tout l'histoire de cet art. *Beaux-Arts*, Novembre 3, 1933, p. 1.
67. DIMAND, M. S.: — Exhibition of Islamic Painting and Book Illumination in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *Apollo*, 19, April 1934, pp. 200-205, illustrations.
68. — — — Great Exhibition of Islamic Art is Held at the Metropolitan. *Art Digest*, October 15, 1933, p. 14, 1 illustration.
This is a summary with a list of the main contributors of the loan exhibit of Islamic miniature painting and book illumination held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
69. WEISSBERGER, Herbert: — The Metropolitan Stages Show of Islamic Painting. *Art News*, 3, October 21, 1933, pp. 3, 14-15, illustration.
The author describes some outstanding examples of miniature painting in the Metropolitan loan exhibit.
70. — — — Beautiful Miniatures of Persia and India shown in New York. *Art Digest*, 8, December 15, 1933, p. 18, 2 illustrations.
About the exhibitions of Miniature Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Kelekian Galleries.
71. — — — Islamic Show at Metropolitan. *American Magazine of Art*, 29, November 1933, p. 514, illustration.
72. COMSTOCK, H.: — Heroic Spirit in Persian Miniature Paintings. *Connoisseur*, 93, March 1934, p. 200, illustration.
73. RIEFSTAHL, Rudolf M.: — *Catalog of an Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings forming the Private Collection of Dikran Khan Kelekian*. New York, from November 25, 1933 to January 31, 1934, 35 pages, 98 illustrations.
The catalogue contains a brief introduction and description of 101 miniatures classified as follows: I — Mesopotamia, 'Abbāsid School, XIIIth Century; II — Persia, Mongol Period, 1290-1380 A.D.; III — Persia, Tīmūrid Period, 1380-1480 A.D.; IV — Persia, Behzād and the Early Safawī School, 1480-1580 A.D.; V — Persia, Late Safawī Period, Shāh 'Abbās the Great (1587-1628 A.D.) and Later; VI — Indian Miniatures and Drawings.
74. VILLARD, M.: — Kelekian Collection of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings. *Parnassus*, 5, December 1933, pp. 18-20, illustrations.
75. EGLINGTON, L.: — Kelekian Shows Rare Miniatures. *Art News*, 32, December 2, 1933, p. 3, 2 illustrations.
76. RIEFSTAHL, Rudolf M.: — *An Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings from the Collection of Demotte Inc.*, New York, March 1934, 41 pages, 12 illustrations.
A brief introduction and a description of 94 miniatures, arranged: I — Mongol School; II — Tīmūrid School; III — Behzād and his Followers; IV — Later

Persian Schools; V — Later Persian Schools; V — Indian Paintings.

many examples of Islamic art and their influence upon Western works.

77. MORSELL, M.: — Rare Miniatures in Fine Exhibit at Demotte.
Art News, 32, March 24, 1934, pp. 3-4, illustration.
78. STRZYGOWSKI, Josef, GLÜCK, Heinrich, KRAMRISCH, Stella and WELLESZ, Emmy: — *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluss an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei*, Klagenfurt, 1932, XIV and 233 pages, 108 plates.
Reviewed: *The Burlington Magazine*, 63, October 1933, p. 186; *Pantheon*, 13, January 1934, p. VIII; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 37, p. Juni 1934, pp. 379-383.
79. BUNT, C. G. E.: — Bookbindings in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
Apollo, 17, March 1933, pp. 72-79, 8 illustrations.
80. ARNOLD, Sir Thomas W.: — *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art*. London, 1932.
Reviewed: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 37, 2, pp. 110-112; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*. 7, 1933, pp. 441-442.
81. PANOWSKI, Erwin and SAXL, FRITZ: — Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art.
Metropolitan Museum Studies, 4, 1933, pp. 228-280.
An important paper on the iconography of some mythological subjects of classical origin represented by mediaeval artists. It is devoted chiefly to the representation of astronomical and astrological subjects, and in this connection there are discussed
82. EDWARDS, E.: — Two Persian Manuscripts.
British Museum Quarterly, 8, February 1934, pp. 102-103.
Two recent acquisitions of the British Museum. One copy of the *Dīwān* of Salmān Sāvadjī, dated 796 A.H., illustrated with eight miniatures of a somewhat later period than the text. The other manuscript in a fine lacquered binding, c. 1800 A.D., consists of various poems and riddles composed by an unknown author for 'Abbās Kulī Shāmlū, Beglerbegi of Herāt.
83. L.D.B.: — An illustrated *Dīwān* of *Khat-ta'ī*.
British Museum Quarterly, 8, July 1933, p. 13.
A rare manuscript of the late XVIth century illustrated with six drawings several of which are of the XVIIth century.
84. E.E.: — A Manuscript of Works of Kāsīm ul-Anvār.
British Museum Quarterly, 8, July 1933, pp. 16-17.
A work of one of the most original and popular late Timūrid poets, Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Alī (1356-1433), finely written by the calligrapher 'Abdullāh al-Kātib al-Isfahānī who completed it in 861 A.H. It is illustrated by five well chosen miniatures.
85. SCHMUTZLER, Emil: — *Altorientalische Teppiche in Siebenbürgen*, Leipzig, 1933, 24 pages, 55 colour-plates.
Reviewed: *The Burlington Magazine*, 63, November 1933, p. 236.

86. DIMAND, M. S.: — An Early Cut-Pile Rug from Egypt.
Metropolitan Museum Studies, 4, 1933, pp. 151-162, 14 figures, 1 coloured plate.
The publication of a unique Coptic rug of about 400 A.D. found in Antinoë and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The author is right in saying that "the discovery of this rug adds a new chapter to the history of Oriental rugs," and it proves "that before the first millenium A.D. the weavers of Egypt were familiar with the technique of cut-pile rugs." Knotted differently from the known technique its inner field is decorated with geometrical patterns and the outer border with an angular vine scroll both characteristic for Coptic art of Egypt.
87. RIEFSTAHL, R. M.: — Ein Knüpftteppich Spätantiker Tradition aus Ägypten in Metropolitan Museum zu New York.
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Mitteilungen, Römische Abteilung, 48, 1933, pp. 127-152, 2 plates.
88. POPE, A. U.: — Medallion Rug in Bachstiz Gallery.
Art News, 31, January 1933, p. 6, 1 illustration.
89. RICARD, Prosper: — *Corpus des Tapis marocains*.
Tome IV: Tapis divers: Rabat, Mediouna, Casablanca, Moyen Atlas, Maroc Oriental, Haut Atlas, Hasuz de Marrakech. Paris, 1934. VII and 74 pages, 64 plates.
90. ERDMANN, K. — Bereicherung der Teppichsammlung.
Berliner Museen, 54, 1, 1933, pp. 6-10, illustrations.
91. SAKISIAN, Arménag: — Les Tapis Arméniens du XV^e au XIX^e siècle.
Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne, 64, 346, June 1933, pp. 21-36, 10 illustrations.
With a brief history of the so-called Armenian carpets the writer describes the known types and where they are to be found. He also discusses in some detail the sources and application of their three principal decorative motifs, the dragon, lotus, and roumi.
92. — — — Michaelyan Shows Traveling Exhibit of Oriental Rugs.
Art News, 32, November 11, 1933, p. 18, 1 illustration.
93. KÜHNEL, Ernst: — Zur Tirâz-Epigraphik der Abbasiden und Fatimiden.
Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur. Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstage gewidmet von Freunden und Mitarbeitern. Berlin, 1933, pp. 59-65, 7 illustrations.
Publication of some inscriptions on textiles dated from the times of Muktaḍir (908-932 A.D.); Rādī (934-940 A.D.); Mutī (946-974 A.D.), Hākim (996-1020 A.D.) and Mustansir 1035-1094 A.D.).
94. MANKOWSKI, T.: — Pasy wschodnie a pasy polskie (Le ceintures orientales et les ceintures polonaises). Présenté dans la séance du 18 mai 1933.
Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Cracovie, 1933, pp. 85-90.
95. SCHMIDT, J. H.: — Turkish Brocades and Italian Imitations.
The Art Bulletin, 15, December 1933, pp. 374-383, illustrations.

96. ACKERMAN, Ph.: — Ghiyath, Persian Master Weaver.
Apollo, 18, October 1933, pp. 252-260, illustrations.
97. GUNSAULUS, H. C.: — Turkish Embroideries.
Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago, 28, February 1934, p. 18, illustrations.
98. KLEIN, Dorothee: — "Eine indianische seiden Bündlen. . . ."
Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 9, 1933, pp. 170-173, 2 plates.
99. WACE, A. J. B.: — The Dating of Turkish Velvets.
The Burlington Magazine, 64, April 1934, pp. 164-171, 9 illustrations.
100. ACKERMAN, Ph.: — Cooper Union Owns a Unique Tapestry of the XIth Century and Other Persian Textiles.
Art News, 32, March 31, 1934, p. 17.
"The Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration has the only collection in the United States which covers the field of Persian Textile art in a really adequate way."
101. — — — Baghdad Tapestry.
Art Digest, 8, April 1, 1934, p. 11.
About a XIth century silk tapestry in Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration, New York.
102. ELSBERG, H. A. and GUEST, R.: — Another Silk Fabric Woven at Baghdad.
The Burlington Magazine, 64, June 1934, pp. 271-272, 2 illustrations.
The article deals with a beautiful XIth century silk fragment in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, bearing an inscription stating that it was produced in Baghdād.
103. WIET, G.: — L'Exposition Persane de 1931. Le Caire 1933. VII and 155 pages, 54 plates.
This publication of the Musée Arabe contains a number of selected objects exhibited at the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931, in London. The text is devoted to an epigraphical study.
104. POPE, A. U. and WIET, G.: — A Silver Salver.
The Burlington Magazine, 63, November 1933, pp. 222-225, 6 illustrations.
Description of a newly discovered dated and signed silver salver. It was made according to the inscription by the order of a "queen" as a present to the Seldjūk Sultān Alp Arslān in the year 459 A.H. (1067 A.D.). The artist's name is Hasan al-Kāshānī.
105. PLENDERLEITH, H. J.: — Scientific examination of an 11th century Persian Silver Salver. With an introduction by A. U. POPE.
The Museums Journal, 33, November 1933, pp. 280-284, 2 plates.
In the introduction Mr. A. U. POPE discusses the importance of the salver for the study of the Persian Art during the Seldjūk period. This is followed by a report of Dr. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum Research Laboratory on his chemical and technical examination of the salver.
106. DIMAND, M.S.: — A Persian Bronze Ewer of the XII century.
Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of

- Art*, 29, 2, February 1934, pp. 25-26, illustration.
107. BERRY, B. Y.: — Turkish Silver Snuff Boxes.
Connoisseur, 93, March 1934, pp. 190-193, illustrations.
108. — — — Persian Mirror Case as a Fashion Plate.
Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 22, February 4, 1933, p. 27, illustration.
109. — — — Frescoes from a Persian Palace.
Connoisseur, 91, February 1933, pp. 138-139, illustrations.
110. LONGHURST, M. H.: — An Eleventh Century Oliphant.
The Burlington Magazine, 62, April 1933, p. 195, 1 illustration.
The carved ivory horn, hitherto unpublished, belonging to Captain Plenderleath is believed to be from Egypt during the Fātimid Period. There is reference made to Dr. von Falke's classification of similar horns.
111. RIEFSTAHL, R. M.: — Seldjuq Koran Stand with Lacquer Painting Decoration in the Museum of Konya.
The Art Bulletin, 15, December 1933, pp. 361-373, illustrations.
112. SCHMIDT, J. H.: — Islamische Baukeramik.
Berliner Museen, 54, 1, 1933, pp. 11-17, illustrations.
113. ABDULLAH CHUGHTAI, M.: — *Lustred Tiles from Samarra in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, Lahore, 1933, 6 pages illustration.
- The author reads on a Persian star-shaped tile of so-called Werāmīn type: "In Muharram (1st Month), Year, six hundred and sixty-one, at (delighted is he who saw it) Samarra."
114. MORSELL, Mary: — Persian Pottery now Being Shown at Parish-Watson Galleries.
Art News, 32, May 12, 1934, pp. 3-4, illustration.
115. HOBSON, R. L.: — A Persian Pottery Box.
British Museum Quarterly, 8, February 1934, p. 113.
A Persian pottery box presumably used for carrying weighing scales. It is decorated with two bands of formalized and illegible Cufic characters in cobalt blue against a white background. Probably manufactured at Rayy during the XIIth century.
116. ELKINS, Ethel C.: — Two Dates Persian Tiles.
The Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin, 29, 163, 1934, pp. 87-89, 3 illustrations.
Discussion of two tiles: one dated 608 A.H. (1211 A.D.) and the other 610 A.H. (1213 A.D.).
117. BALLARDINI, Gaetano: — "Bacini" Orientali a Ravello.
Bolletino d'Arte, 27, 9, 1934, pp. 391-399, 11 illustrations.
118. SARRE, Friedrich: — Der Import orientalischer Keramik nach Italien im Mittelalter und der Renaissance.
Forschungen und Fortschritte, 9, 29, 10, Oktober 1933, pp. 423-424.
The eminent student of Islamic Art, Prof. Dr. Friedrich SARRE, gives in this

brief paper very useful information about the types of Oriental pottery imported during the Middle Ages into Italy, evidenced by the fragments discovered by Professor Luigi Conton.

119. ETTINGHAUSEN, R.: — Agyptische Holzschnitzereien aus islamischer Zeit. *Berliner Museen*, 54, 1, 1933, pp. 17-20, illustrations.

120. AGA-ÖGLÜ, Mehmet: — An Islamic Tombstone and Mihrab of the 12th Century. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 31, 185, June 1933, pp. 42-44, 2 illustrations.

This article contains a description of

two Islamic carved stones with a translation of their inscriptions and a statement of their provenance.

121. DIMAND, M.S.: — Persian Stucco Sculpture: Head of a Prince, Early XIII Century.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 29, April 1934, p. 69, 1 illustration.

122. WILKINSON, J. V. S.: — Shah Jahan's Drinking Vessel.

The Burlington Magazine, 64, April 1934, p. 187, 2 illustrations.

A jade cup from the time of Shāh Djahān in the collection of Mr. Oscar Raphael.

LES AMIS DES EGLISES ET L'ART COPTES

FOR MANY YEARS THERE HAS BEEN A SERIOUS NEED FOR AN ORGANIZED PROTECTION OF Coptic works and monuments which heretofore have been neglected by the public and, even more, carelessly destroyed by investigators interested in other fields. "Les Amis des Eglises et l'Art Coptes," founded this year in Cairo and "constitués en association pour un objet d'intérêt purement esthétique, archéologique et historique," undertakes the meritorious task of not only the conservation of Coptic antiquities and the encouragement of interest by publications and conferences of scholars, but also of contributing to the authentic decoration of Coptic churches and the ultimate establishment of a school of arts and crafts to carry on the valuable tradition of Coptic culture.

Under the honorary presidency of Count Michel de Zogheb and with Mirrit Boutros-Ghali as president, the society has the support of many distinguished charter members among whom are H. E. Morcos Simaika Pasha, the Marquis Negrotto-Cambiaso, Baron and Baroness de Benoist, Arakel Nubar Bey, Aslan Cattau Bey, Sir John Home, and Professor Sami Gabra.

The Research Seminary in Islamic Art hopes that this worthy enterprise will receive the active coöperation of scholars and patrons of art and archaeology.

TO CONTRIBUTORS:—The Editor of ARS ISLAMICA will be glad to consider articles dealing with subjects of Islamic Art. The pages of the magazine are open to discussions of problems, to treatises on new discoveries and unknown objects, and to reports on excavations and expeditions. Articles are never accepted until they have been submitted for consideration.

The Arabic, Persian, Turkish and related names and words in articles must be transliterated with the system approved by the International Oriental Congress of 1894 and employed by the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ISLAM. Manuscripts must be typewritten and the photographic material must be suitable for reproduction and accompanied with legends.

The Editor of ARS ISLAMICA does not hold himself responsible for damage to manuscripts and photographs, although every care will be taken.

All communications should be addressed to the editorial office: RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART, DIVISION OF FINE ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, U. S. A.

TO SUBSCRIBERS:—ARS ISLAMICA is published in two parts, in January and June of each year. The price of each part is \$3.00 and the annual subscription for the volume containing both parts is \$5.00 including postage. It is payable to the RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, U. S. A.

Subscribers are notified that changes of address should be made not less than one month before date of issue.

803203
GEORGE A.
SIMONDS
& CO.
930 N. ST. N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION LIBRARIES



3 9088 01746 6962